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NUMBER 8 III QUARTER 1957

POSTE RESTANTE

Dear Family: With the third quarter most memberships need to be renewed. If yours expires with the summer issue, will you promptly send $2.00 so that we may be spared the postage expense of a reminder? If in doubt, send your check, and we shall faithfully extend your membership from the date of expiration. And if you can do so, slip into the envelope an extra dollar for our "publication fund." (God bless you for your generosity!) Printing costs are very high——and likely to go higher. One fourth of each membership fee, unfortunately, must be spent for postage, envelopes and the help of the printer's devil. That leaves only $1.50 for the printer's bill! At all events, we wish here to paraphrase Thoreau's report on King Tching-thang's bathing tub: "Renew thy subscription completely each year; do it again and again, and forever again," thereby avoiding gaps in your file of the Quarterly and needless trouble for the office staff (all unpaid workers)! We wish again to thank those who remit for two or three years at a time.

To make our pennies go as far as possible, we often mail two or three issues under one cover. We can thus save a little on printing costs, postage, wrappers and addressing time, and we also, in this way, manage to keep well in advance of publication deadlines. Some, not understanding our policy in this regard, have written to inquire about our long silences. We wish to assert, once and for all, that any silence is the signal of victory, not of death. We are very much in business——but a little ahead of schedule——that is all. Scan the dates on the issues you have at hand and you will not need to write unnecessary letters——though, to speak frankly, we do like to hear from you.

One question occasionally asked is this: "Why don't you print on both sides of the page?" Our answer: A few of our members (chiefly professors) like to cut up duplicate copies of each issue for their filing systems. For this project, therefore, they need not destroy two. Others like to use the intervening blank page for additional notes or suggestions. (Your editor is one of these.) And we find the plan economical in cutting up three copies to send as offprints to contributors of articles and to the presses that send us books for review.

We still hope that many of you will recommend us to your nearest library. The percentage of subscriptions to the Quarterly from universities and colleges is rising, but not fast enough to encourage us. Places like Yale, Lehigh, and the University of Pennsylvania are still not on our list.

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Central part of Concord village—from J. W. Barber, Massachusetts Historical Collections, *1841*

EMERSON, THOREAU, AND THE TOWN AND COUNTRY CLUB

By the Editor

Materials for a history of a short-lived organization of 1849-1850, which aimed "to establish a better acquaintance between men of scientific, literary and philanthropic pursuits," are to be found in Emerson's Letters,[1] Sanborn's Recollections,[2] and in the volume of manuscript and printed records of the Town & Country Club, 1849 & 1850, now owned by Frederic Wolsey Pratt, Esq., of Concord, great-grandson of Alcott.[3] The story of the great expectations amid which the Club was founded and of its brief and expensive existence is best taken from the surviving minutes, to be edited below. Thoreau attended the first meeting, probably at Emerson's strong invitation, but withdrew for reasons one may safely guess. The reader of Walden can almost select the very words he might have used: (a) "I never heard of a philanthropic meeting in which it was sincerely proposed to do any good to me, or the like of me." (b) "I have found that no exertion of the legs can bring two minds much nearer to one another. What do we want to dwell near to?" (c) The club has adopted a "formula more complicated than the problem itself. To get his shoes [the club member] speculates in herds of cattle."

Financial burdens helped bring about speedy dissolution, as well as the fact that more energy was required to sustain the organization than could be spared by those who had launched it. The purpose, moreover, was too vague; the membership, too scattered; and the group never became a fruitful, dedicated, working minority---in the well-known Transcendental pattern. At first, in an effort to discover what might be lacking in its structure, the unger members urged admitting women, but, as Sanrn tells us, Emerson withstood that suggestion gorously:[4]

> Of the Town and Country Club of sixty years ago I gave some account in my Memoir of Alcott, relying largely on the description, with some amusing details, which Col. Higginson printed many years since in one of those fugitive weeklies that spring up and fade, like mushrooms, in the stimulating, but speedily arctic climate of Boston. Its name was bestowed by Emerson, its real founder, although Alcott was the proximate cause; it being Emerson's design to provide a place in Boston while Alcott was living there, in which he might easily meet, on the proper terms, other men of thought and letters, the list of whom, preserved by Alcott in their autographs, is a long one. There might have been women, too,— among them Mrs. Howe, who had a club of the same name at Newport for years,— had it not been for a sudden impulse of Emerson's, which Higginson thus relates:
>
> > I was designated by fate to stand, as on several other occasions, for the admission of the offending sex. This subject had been discussed once or twice and a vote taken that settled nothing, when it seemed to me that the proper way to bring a decision would be simply to nominate two ladies, and let the club settle the matter. The names selected were those of two persons whose great knowledge and services were recognized by all; Miss Elizabeth Peabody and Mrs. Mary Lowell Putnam. Margaret Fuller Ossoli was in Italy, or she would naturally have been selected. The next act in the drama was the receipt of the following curious letter from Mr. Emerson:—
> >
> > CONCORD, 16 May 1849
> >
> > My dear Sir,
> >
> > I was in town yesterday & Mr. Alcott showed me the list of subscribers to the Town & Country Club and I read at or near the end of the list the names of two ladies, written down, as he told me, by your own hand. On the instant, I took a pen & scratched or blotted out the names.
> >
> > Such is the naked fact. Whether the suggestion I obeyed was supernal or infernal, I say not. But I have to say that I looked upon the circumstance of the names of two ladies standing there upon our roll as quite fatal to the existence of our cherished Club. I had stated to the Club the other day that "men" was used designedly and distinctively in the first draft, & the Club by vote decided that it should stand so. I had moreover yesterday just come from a conference with some gentlemen representing the views of an important section of the members, who, alarmed by the pugnacious attitudes into which the Club was betrayed the other day, were preparing to withdraw, & whom I had assured that all those who had long been projecting their literary Club, would not be deprived of their object, & something else thrust on them,— when to my surprise I found this inscription of names of ladies. I erased them at once, that no man might mistake our design. I really wish you would join with us in securing what we really want, a legitimate Club Room; & very many of us will, I doubt not, heartily join with you, in obtaining what is also legitimate, but not what we now seek, a Social Union of literature, science, &c. for the sexes. But we claim the priority of time in our project, & do not wish to be hindered of it, when it is now ripened and being realized. I am quite sure it is the wish of the great majority of persons who have acted in it hitherto, to establish a Club-house; and you must let us do it, & you must heartily join & help us do it.
> >
> > Yours with great regard,
> >
> > R. W. EMERSON.

This letter, and the act preceding it, did settle the matter. The movement of Higginson was premature, but both sexes now join in clubs and I have been for years a member of the New England Women's Club

[THE MANUSCRIPT MINUTES:]

Sketch of the Town and Country Club.

(Records)

In February last, a Printed Circular (see Journal for Feb 1849) was sent to several gentlemen, residing in N. England, and for the most part in Boston and its vicinity, inviting them to assemble at No. 12. West Street, on Tuesday the 20th March, and discuss the Advantages of organizing a Club or College, for the Study and Diffusion of the Ideas and Tendencies of the Nineteenth Century; and to concert measures, if deemed desirable, for promoting good fellowship between men of Science, Letters, and Philanthropy.

On the 20th March, the day named, the following gentlemen assembled at the Rooms.

R. W. Emerson	John W. Browne	J. M. Spear
Wm. H. Channing	Chas. C. Shackford	Saml. May Jr.
Edwin P. Whipple	Geo. P. Bradford	O.B.Frothingham
Theodore Parker	Wm F. Channing	Geo. W. Lippitt
J. F. Clarke	Henry C. Wright	R. F. Walcott
T. Starr King	Wm. F. Fernald.	Gilbert L Streeter
Thomas T. Stone	John S. Dwight	Edward Bangs.
Wm B. Greene	C. K. Whipple	H. D. Thoreau
John Weiss	J. T. Fisher	
H. I. Bowditch	Oliver Johnson	

After some general conversation on the objects and Aims of Association, in which many of the company joined, a committee, consisting of R. W. Emerson, Wm H. Channing and A. Bronson Alcott, was appointed to report some practical suggestions, for the consideration of gentlemen present.

This Committee, after looking at some rooms in Tremont Row, accordingly reported the following suggestions.

(1) The opening of a Café. But that it was expedient, at present, to use one already established.

(2) A Hall for the use of all the members of the Club and under the care of the Permanent Secretary.

It was thought advisable to rent one in the immediate vicinity of a good Café; and one or two such chambers were said to be vacant in Tremont Street.

The rent of these rooms would range from 300 to 500 dollars.

(3) A Library. The subscription to be separate from the subscription to the Club Room.

The Books to be purchased under the direction of a Committee, to be curculated among the Subscribers, and to be disposed of at the end of a year or two or three years to subscribers. The Books to be loaned by subscribers for circulation among members. Some of the rare and best Journals of Germany, France, and England to be bought, to remain in the Room.

The Permanent Secretary to be the Librarian.

(4) Stated meetings to be holden on the of every month.

Every stated meeting to be opened by reading of communications, volunteered by members.

(5) A Hall for members to give Public Lectures, Conversations and Readings.

There was some discussion, also, on establishing a Journal, or Newspaper, to be conducted by the Club;

Of compiling and printing the Sacred Books of Mankind; and

Of opening a Bookstore for the publication sale and importing of the best books.

James T. Fisher, W^{m} F. Channing, and Cha^{s} K. Whipple were appointed a Committee to make further inquiries concerning Rooms for a Café and for the use of the Club, and to report at the next meeting

The meeting adjourned till Tuesday 27. March at 12. West Street

March 27.

Present at the rooms, were

R. W. Emerson	T. W. Higginson	John W. Browne
W^{m} H. Channing	Thomas T. Stone	J. Elliot Cabot
Theodore Parker	H. I. Bowditch	Cha^{s} C. Shackford
J. Russell Lowell	John S. Dwight	James T. Fisher
Sam^{l} D. Robbins	Chas. K. Whipple	Geo. P. Bradford

J. T. Fisher reported in favor of using Rooms No. 12, for meetings of the Club; The same committee were further instructed to make inquiries concerning quarters for Club Room and Café, and report at the next meeting.

R. W. Emerson was requested to draft a Constitution, and present the same at the next meeting.

Voted to name the Association
"The Town and Country Club."

The terms on which members were to be admitted were discussed at length, and whether women should become members by subscription, or by courtesy.

adjourned to April 10.

Tuesday 10 April.

The following gentlemen appeared,

R. W. Emerson	Sam^{l} D. Robbins	Chas. K. Whipple
J. F. Clarke	J. T. Fisher	John C. Wyman
John Weiss	John S. Dwight	Parker Pillsbury
E. P. Whipple	Thomas T. Stone	John Orvis
Chas. C. Shackford	Edward E. Hale	H. G. O. Blake
	Chas. Stearns.	

R. W. Emerson, read a Preamble of Reasons for organizing a Society to promote a better acquaintance between persons of scientific, literary and philanthropic Pursuits, with a Constitution for the same, which was adopted, and 100 copies ordered to be printed

It was recommended, also, to the gentlemen present that each obtain the names of persons suitable to be members of the Club and present the same at the next meeting

The meeting adjourned to 17. April.

Tuesday April 17.

There were present at the Rooms the following gentlemen -

R. W. Emerson	James T. Fisher	Geo. B. Loring
Sam^{l} D. Robbins	John Orvis	R. K. Darrah
Theo. Parker	Sam^{l} May Jr.	A. D. Mayo
W^{m}. H. Channing	C. Allen Browne	W. H. Dennet
J. R. Lowell	Geo. W. Lippitt	Henreich Parabeau
E. P. Whipple	Thomas Hill	John S. Dwight
J. E. Cabot	C. H. A. Dall	

A. Bronson Alcott was chosen Secretary to have charge of the Club Rooms, and Library, to notify members of special meetings, and to Preside at all meetings of the Club.

M^{r} Alcott declined serving as Chairman of the meetings, and proposed the appointment of a Recording Secretary, and Presiding Officer.

Sam^{l} D. Robbins was chosen as Chairman of this meeting.

E. P. Clark was elected Treasurer

R. W. Emerson, J. Elliot Cabot and James T. Fisher, were chosen an Executive Committee. They were, also, instructed to report, at the next meeting, a Code of By-Laws, and such other economies of the Club as were deemed important.

R. W. Emerson was requested to read a paper before the Club at its next meeting.

The Club adjourned to Wednesday 2" May

Notice of the May meeting was given in the Boston M^{s} Papers to the members.

Wednesday 2nd May

The Town and Country Club held their First Monthly Meeting at Rooms No 12. West Street.

Present were the following gentlemen

[See next page.]

R. W. Emerson	Otis Clapp	Alfred Norton
Theodore Parker	William Silsbee	Geo W. Lippitt
J. F. Clarke	Sam^{l}. May J^{r}.	A. W. Muzzy
J. R. Lowell	G. L. Streeter	J. Burlingame
Nathaniel Hawthorne	C. A. Browne	J. T. Fields
T. W. Higginson	Geo. B. Loring	J. P. Farley
W^{m} L. Garrison	Sam^{l} D. Robbins	Edward Bangs
E. P. Whipple	James W. Stone	H. Parabeau
J. E. Cabot	John Orvis	O. B. Frothingham
J. W. Browne	Chas K. Whipple	T. R. Gould
T. T. Stone	W^{m} B. Pike	W. H. Dennet
Ellis G. Loring	J. T. Sargent	H. T. Parker
C. A. Bartol	LeBaron Russell	A. L. Stimson
R. H. Dana J^{r}.	Elizur Wright	E. Tuckerman
C. C. Shackford	W^{m} B. Greene	W. F. Fernald
Edward E. Hale	WW A. Alcott	A. J. Davis
John S. Dwight	J. B. Richards	J. W. Redfield
James T. Fisher	C. H. A. Dall	J. M. Spear
John Weiss	Walter Channing	H. Woodman

A. Bronson Alcott called the meeting to order and invited Samuel D. Robbins to the Chair.

James T. Fisher, reported some By Laws, and amendments of the Constitution.

James W. Stone was chosen Recording Secretary

John W. Browne was elected Treasurer, E. P. Clarke, having declined.

R. W. Emerson read a Paper on "Books and Reading."

A discussion followed on admitting women to membership by subscription and ballot.

The Constitution and By Laws proposed by the Executive Committee were adopted.

A. B. Alcott proposed "that Theo Parker be requested to read a paper before the Club at the next Monthly Meeting," which motion was accepted by vote of members.

Also, "that the Executive Committee provide some room for holding the next meeting."

The Society adjourned to meet on the First Thursday of June at 9 1/2. o,clock A.M.

More than 100 signatures were found to the Printed Constitution

[The above notes are all in Alcott's handwriting. He has added at the end:]

Emerson, Higginson and G. P. Bradford were at my Rooms this afternoon.

Evening. Heard D^{r} Redfield lecture again on Trees at the Tremont Temple

[MEETINGS AFTER FORMAL ORGANIZATION:]

1849, May 2

First regular meeting of the Town and Country Club, at 12 West St., 46 members present at 11 A.M.

The meeting was called to order by Mr A Bronson Alcott, and organized by the selection of Mr Samuel D. Robbins of Chelsea as Chairman. James W. Stone was elected recording Sec'Y of the Club, & Mr John W Browne Treasurer.

An elaborate and valuable paper on the subject of "Books" was read by Mr Ralph Waldo Emerson, characterized by his peculiarly brilliant style.

The Committee upon the Constitution appointed at a preliminary meeting reported through their Chairman, Mr James T. Fisher, a Constitution very similar to that which was ultimately adopted.

Mr Sam'^{l} May Jr. moved to substitute Thursday for Wednesday in the eighth Article, which referred to the day of meeting. He stated that there would be many members from the country, who could attend much more conveniently on Thursday than on Wednesday.

Mr Emerson hoped that we should have a regular day appointed for the meetings in order that members from a distance, who wished to come to Boston on other business might have an opportunity to select the Club day.

On motion of Rev Jas. F. Clarke it was voted that the members be called upon to state the day of the week which each preferred. The result of the vote was for Monday 3, Tuesday 1, Wed. 17, Thursday 18, Friday 2, Saturday 1, & Sunday none. The question was then taken between Wednesday & Thursday, & the latter was selected by a vote of 22 to 19.

Mr W^{m} L. Garrison remarked that he felt a deep interest in the organization of the Club; but that interest would be much deepened by knowing that we are not proscriptive with regard to color or sex. Rev Artemas B. Muzzey desired to settle the hour of meeting before proceeding to discuss the question which had been presented. He moved that the regular hour of meeting be 12 M.

Mr Emerson remarked that those who came by R. Road would be better accommodated by 11 o'clock.

Rev. Theo. Parker intimated that if the meeting were held at 12, it might be continued so as to interfere with a long established course of lectures. Mr Clarke observed that business men might find it very difficult to attend in the forenoon. The Club might regularly meet in the morn'^{g}, and when there is to be an address, meet again in the afternoon.

Mr Ellis Gray Loring suggested 10 o'clock. Very few business men can pass their time here from 12 till two, & therefore he moved to amend by substituting ten for twelve o'clock, which was agreed to 37 to 5.

Mr W. B. Greene of Brookfield moved that 9 1/2 be the hour of meeting; yeas 20, nays 19.

The Committee on the Constitution were discharged by the acceptance of their report; and the question of the adoption of the Constitution being under consideration, it was moved by Mr T. Wentworth Higginson that after the word "men" in the first article, the words "and women" be inserted.

Mr Garrison desired to have the privilege of membership placed on a broad and universal basis & to let the world know in the outset how we stand, that all may be aware on what ground we unite. This is the age of reform & progress, and in regard to intellect and soul, he did not want to have one half of the community excluded. He also thought it

would bind us together more closely to have no participation in that sensitiveness which cherishes a complexional feeling.

Mr Clarke moved to amend the amendment by substituting the word "person" for "men & women." He thought that the subject should be left to take care of itself. "I should be sorry," said he, "to belong to any Club, which would exclude women or persons on account of color. If there should be a proper woman presented, I think that we should vote for her, and that the question of color should not enter into our minds. Yet any person may blackball whom he chooses in spite of anything which we may state in our Constitution. If we leave the matter entirely indefinite on the ground that we do not consider sex or color any objection to membership, we shall leave it on the best & right ground."

Mr Higginson would be sorry to attribute to any member a desire to exclude any one on account of color. "And my only reason," he added, "for wishing express terms to be inserted in the Constitution, was that there had been a discussion about it, & that we may now, at this large meeting, have a fuller expression of opinion than could have been heretofore obtained. It would influence our actions hereafter whether we recognise females as well as males as members. It is for this reason that I prefer the word women. At the same time, the amendment to the amendment would remove the objection from the Constitution, as it now stands. I would therefore accept the last amendment, in order that there may not be discord."

Mr Emerson remarked that the word "men" was introduced by the Committee into the article purposely. He was one of those who thought it desirable to have the Club consist entirely of men. "With regard to color," he continued, "I am of the opinion that there should be no exclusion. Certainly, if any distinction be made, let it be in the colored man's favor. If there be a black who is superior for his acquirements in letters or science, or for his clubable qualities, let him be elected. It seems to me so essential a change--though I am still in the night a little--to make the Club a saloon for ladies, that I really hope the proposed amendment will not pass."

Mr Greene proposed that we first take the vote on the word men, second, on the words men and women, & third on the word persons, each separately.

Mr Garrison inquired whether, if we strike out the word "men" & make it "persons," it will be any better than if the words "and women" are inserted. "I remember one Society was rent asunder some years since in consequence of this very word persons, which was in the Constitution. A bare majority decided that women had a right to be officers. But about one half of the Soc. seceded. What reason can there be against women being members? I should be sorry to have them excluded."

Mr Parker stated that there was only one objection to their being members, presented at a previous meeting, which had not been neutralized. This was that some of the members might wish to smoke, which the ladies would object to.

Mr John S. Dwight maintained that "if this was a Club for the consideration of moral questions, the subject before them might properly be discussed, but if it was for literary questions, it was not a proper topic. This Club is not established to maintain any particular principles. It is merely a social re-union of those who would choose each other's society. And it seems to me that it would be establishing a bad precedent at the outset, to acknowledge that any person whatsoever would be wronged by being excluded. The thought of exclusion should not be suggested; only the thought of inclusion. We give a reason why we choose some, but no reason why we do not choose others. And yet I am as great an advocate of woman's rights as anybody is."

Mr Loring contended that "if we make it a rule to start with that any class should be excluded, it would be improper. Suppose that we should introduce it into our Constitution that no mechanic should be a member, we should all feel that it was wrong. We should not admit persons, either men or women, who could not do something for our advantage. But suppose that we had a Mrs. Somerville among us, with intelligence and learning, would she not be an ornament to our circle? I think she would. If this were a military or an engine company, I would exclude women. But as it is, I think they should be admitted. It would not injure us in the least. There would not be many. I should be glad to have a colored man of abilities among us. It is much to my taste to have a few women, and a few colored."

Mr Elizur Wright was not here at the previous discussion, but thinks "that a strong reason can be given for leaving the matter as it is. I would not exclude women for the sake of smoking, but would myself be willing to act as a woman to keep out the tobacco. We are a great part of us married men. Our wives are at home. Many of them must remain there. If we invite women and practise bringing in some of the women, & not others, we throw an apple of discord among our wives; and in addition some persons might object to have their wives here with other men."

The question was first taken on the insertion of the words "and women" after "men." Yeas 12, Nays 30.

Mr Higginson enquired whether the majority meant to exclude women.

Mr Clarke voted in the negative, but did not wish to exclude them.

Dr Geo. B. Loring hoped that the club would not vote in such a way as to avoid expressing a clear opinion.

Mr Garrison thought that it was already decided to exclude women, & asserted that if he was to remain a member, he should not vote to have any person admitted whom he believed would vote to exclude an individual merely on account of color or sex.

Mr Charles C. Shackford of Lynn was in favor of excluding women, but he was particularly opposed to the amendment, because the grammatical construction of the sentence, if amended, would be that the object of the Club was to establish a better acquaintance between "men of scientific literary and

philanthropic pursuits;" and that is not the case.

Mr Edward Bangs suggested that the question might be tried by a resolution declaring that persons should not be excluded on account of color or sex.

Mr Dwight thought it was merely a question of taste.

Mr W^{m}. H. Hurlburt of Cambridge thought ladies should not be excluded, especially as some of them are among the most learned in particular branches of science. Miss Catherine Herschel is a member of one of the Philosophical Societies of Europe.

On the substitution of "persons" for "men" the vote stood yeas 19, nays 23. In favor of the word men in the article as it originally stood, yeas 20, nays 17.

Mr Parker thought that there were at least 12 women in the neighborhood of Boston, whose literary and scientific attainments were such as to render their membership a desirable acquisition.

Rev Thos. T. Stone moved that the last vote on the adoption of the word men be reconsidered.

Mr Greene affirmed that his motion had not been taken; that he had intended to have a vote upon the words "men," "persons," and "men & women" separately without taking the negative of each-- that no person should vote for more than one of the three propositions & that a plurality should prevail.

Voted that the question be taken in accordance with Mr Greene's motion.

Mr Stone declared that he was "entirely opposed on every ground to the exclusion of every human being on account of complexion or sex. What has drawn this large number here today? It is the attra[c]tion of a literary discourse, which a woman could appreciate as highly as a man."

Mr Fisher, as a member of the Committee who framed the Constitution, thought that it was perfectly proper to propose a woman as a member of the Society. The preamble did not decide the question but the article of membership.

Mr Higginson thought the question ought not yet to be taken. It was too important to be lightly hurried over.

Mr John Orvis said "the word person does not meet the question whether women have the right to be members of this Club. I do not wish to be committed to any issue. I desire to take the middle ground by using the word person."

Mr Greene was in favor of the word "person." He hoped the discussion would finish, as probably all the members had made up their minds how to vote.

Mr Wright protests "against driving the word woman into persons of the masculine gender. The term men is generic, and includes women. I voted for 'men,' and intended to include 'women.' But I confess that I should blackball almost every woman that I know."

The question was then taken according to Mr Greene's motion. 20 voted for men, 9 for men and women, and 12 for persons.

The Chair decided that the Article would stand with the word men.

Rev. Mr Stone moved that in the use of the word men in the first article of the Constitution, it shall be intended to signify all human beings; that there may be no limitation on account of sex or complexion; decided in the Affirmative 22 to 16.

The eleven articles of the Constitution were then consecutively adopted, the fifth being amended by the insertion of the word "all" in place of "special", and the Executive Committee being empowered to fill the blanks in the Ninth Article.

Voted that the Rev. Theodore Parker be invited to address the Club on some subject chosen by himself at the next monthly meeting in June.

Voted that the Executive Committee be requested to provide a room for the Club at the next meeting.

Moved that a Committee be appointed to select a design for diplomas to be given by the Executive Committee to members of this Club on admission. Rejected.

Voted that the Executive Committee be requested to provide a substitute for Mr Parker, in case he should decline.

Mr Fisher gave notice that at the next meeting, he should move an amendment to the Constitution to the effect that a quorum shall consist of ten members.

Voted to adjourn

Attest

James W. Stone
Recording Sec'y.

Monthly Meeting of Town & Country Club on Thursday June 2^{d} 1849 at Freeman Place Chapel.

George S. Hillard was chosen Chairman.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary it was voted that John W. Browne be secretary pro. tem.

On request, the list of names of the Members of the Club was read by the secretary pro. tem., the list having been prepared by the Corresponding Secretary, & being in his handwriting.

On motion of Mr. Dwight it was resolved, that the names upon the list just read, or such of them as shall, before the next monthly meeting, conform to the conditions of membership, shall constitute the original members of the Club, & that all names hereafter offered shall come in by ballot.

Mr. Fisher, of the Executive Committee, made a report of the doings & opinions of the Committee upon rooms for the Club, naming various places & projects, & stating that the Committee had determined upon no one.

Remarks were made upon the subject matter of this report by Mr. Roelker, Mr. Emerson, Mr. Green, Mr. Hillard, & others.

The Chairman stated that he was obliged to

leave the meeting, & called Mr. Ellis Gray Loring to the Chair.

On motion of Theodore Parker it was voted that a special Committee of three be appointed to aid the Executive Committee in obtaining Rooms for the Club.

Voted to choose this special Committee by nomination at large, & Robert E. Apthorp Edmund Jackson & Elizur Wright wore chosen.

On motion of Mr. Fisher, according to his notice at the last Meeting, it was voted, that the Constitution be amended by adding to the eighth article thereof the following words-- "A quorum shall consist of ten members."

Mr. Rodman gave notice that at the next monthly meeting he should move that the second article of the Constitution be amended by striking out the words-- "by entering the same in a book to be provided for the purpose."

A. Bronson Alcott presented a letter from the proprietor of the Lyceum Gallery of Paintings & Engravings in New York City, inviting the Members of this Club to his Gallery, with documents accompanying the letter. The letter was read by the Chairman, & it was voted that the whole matter be referred to the Executive Committee to make suitable acknowledgement.

On motion of Mr. Emerson it was voted that a Committee of one be appointed to wait upon Theodore Parker, & state to him that the Club expects an address from him at the next quarterly Meeting in July at 12 o.clock M., & A. Bronson Alcott was appointed that Committee.

On motion of Mr. Emerson, voted that the Executive Committee call upon E. P. Whipple, & request him to prepare an address to be delivered at the next quarterly meeting in July, as a substitute, in case Mr. Parker should fail to deliver his for any cause, otherwise to be delivered at the next quarterly meeting of the Club after July.

The Club then adjourned.

Attest John W. Browne
Secretary pro. tem.

1849 June 13

Special Meeting of the Town and Country Club at 3 1/2 P.M. at 15 Tremont Row, 20 members present.

Meeting was called to order by Mr Alcott, and Rev. Samuel D. Robbins of Chelsea appointed Chairman.

The records of the last meeting were read and accepted.

Mr James T. Fisher stated that the object of the meeting was to obtain the decision of the Club in the choice of a room.

The Club were informed that a room ready furnished could be obtained at the Albion for $3. per day; that Mr Brigham, 1 Bumstead Pl. would provide two rooms for $400. per annum; that a new building was about to be erected opposite the City Hall in School St, the builder of which would be willing to make arrangements with the Club to have it erected to meet the views of the members; and that the room in which the Club then were, could be obtained for $175. per annum and the taxes $10.

Voted that Room No. 15 Tremont Row be engaged and fitted up by the Executive Committee on the most favorable terms for a time not exceeding a year.

Mr Fisher suggested the subject of an admission fee to the Club.

Mr Bernard Roelker moved that an admission fee of five dollars in addition to the Annual subscription be paid by each member.

The proposition was discussed by Messrs C. Allen Browne, Wm. A. White, Elizur Wright, R. E. Apthorp, A. B. Alcott, J. W Browne, J. S. Dwight, Dr G. B. Loring, & Rev Chandler Robbins.

On motion of Dr Loring it was Voted that the whole subject be indefinitely postponed.

Voted to adjourn.

Attest James W. Stone
Rec'g Sec'y

1849 July 5

Quarterly Meeting of the Town and Country Club at ten o'clock at 15 Tremont Row, 42 members present.

Rev. Chandler Robbins was called to the Chair and the records were read and accepted.

The Treasurer stated that 81 members had signed the Constitution and paid their assessments.

The following gentlemen were elected members; Dr A. B. Cleaveland of Dedham, Messrs Wendell Phillips of Boston, John Felton of Cambridge, Geo. J. Webb of Boston, Charles Deane of Cambridge, Robert Townley of Charlestown, Chas. G. Davis of Boston, Wm. Pope Jr. of Dorchester, Andrew L. Russell of Plymouth, Wm. T. Davis of Boston, Samuel Longfellow of Fall River, and John Westall of Fall River.

Only eight votes being cast for Mr Samuel Downer of Dorchester, & it being uncertain whether the Senior or Jr. gentleman was intended to be nominated, it was voted to postpone his election.

Mr R. W. Emerson resigned his position as a member of the Executive Committee. Voted that the resignation be accepted, with the thanks of the Society for the services rendered, and an expression of regret at the loss of Mr Emerson as an officer of the Society.

Mr Robt. E. Apthorp was unanimously elected a member of the Executive Committee.

Voted <u>not</u> to amend the Constitution by erasing the parenthetical words in the second article.

Voted that the Secretary be instructed to erase the names from the nomination book of all rejected Candidates for membership.

The Chair stated that the Sec'y would not be expected to introduce the names of rejected candidates into the record book.

A printed copy of the Constitution being furnished to each of the members, Mr Samuel May Jr.

stated that he did not find his name upon it, though he had signed, and paid his assessment one month previous.

Mr Fisher from the Committee explained that it had been accidentally omitted. The subject was referred to the Exec. Com. to have corrected copies of the names printed.

The Corresponding Sec'y requested instructions about advertising meetings by circulars or otherwise. Referred to the Exec. Com.

Mr James Russell Lowell was appointed to read a paper at the quarterly meeting in October, if Mr Whipple should fail to do so; if he should not fail, it was voted that Mr Lowell be requested to read a paper to the Club at the Jan'y meeting.

The Exec. Com. reported that the blanks in Art. IX. of the Constitution be filled, so that the last part of it will read "from 8 A.M. to 7 P.M. (between the months of April and October, and from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. between October and April;") which report was adopted.

At the hour of twelve, Rev. Theodore Parker read a remarkable Essay, characterised by a thorough acquaintance with those springs of human action, the gold, the office and the pen, upon the subject of "the position and duty of the educated men to the Community." Voted that the thanks of the Club be presented to Mr Parker for the interesting and original paper with which he has favored us.

After some discussion, it was quietly decided that the papers read before the Club would not be claimed as the property of the Club.

Voted that in the case of persons, residing out of the City of Boston, on the original list of members, the time for signing the Constitution shall be extended to the next quarterly meeting.

Voted to adjourn

Attest James W. Stone
Rec'g Sec'y

In place of the above read "between April 1st and Oct. 1st., and from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. the remainder of the year." S.

1849 Aug. 2.

Monthly meeting of the Town and Country Club at 9 1/2 A.M. at the Club Room. Rev Sam'l D. Robbins was called to the Chair, and the records of the preceding meeting were read and accepted.

The following gentlemen were elected members Revs. F. D. Huntington & Geo. Putnam of Roxbury, Dr Henry G. Wheatland of Salem, Messrs. Hasbrouck Davis of Watertown, W^m P. Atkinson of Brookline, John G. Whittier of Amesbury, Chas. M. Ellis, Augustus Kreissmann, and Geo. B. Emerson of Boston.

Mr Robbins gave notice that at the next meeting he should propose an amendment to the eighth Article of the Constitution to the effect that papers shall be read monthly instead of quarterly.

Voted to select an individual by ballot to read a paper before the Club at the Nov. meeting. Mr Henry James of N.Y. was elected, and Mr J. S. Dwight was chosen substitute for the Nov. meeting, or to read a paper at the Dec. meeting.

Mr W^m A. Alcott gave notice that he should propose an amendment to the second article of the Constitution as follows; for "One black ball in ten shall exclude" read "a majority of black balls shall exclude.["]

Mr C. H. A. Dall proposed the following By Law which was adopted.

"The Club shall from time to time, on motion put and carried, hold general conversations in due form upon selected topics. In furtherance of this plan, a list shall be opened by the Corresponding Sec'y on which members may at any time, enter any topic for discussion."

Voted That the subject for discussion at the ensuing meeting shall be, "What book needs to be written with the least possible delay to meet the wants of men?"

After some remarks upon this subject by Messrs Dall, Alcott, and Cleveland it was voted to adjourn

Attest James W. Stone
Rec'g Sec'y

1849 Sept 6

Monthly meeting of the Club at 15 Tremont Row at 9 1/2 A.M. 16 members present.

Mr W^m A. White was called to the Chair, the records were read and accepted.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Club. Drs Pharcellus Church and Chas. T. Jackson, Messrs Jas Wilder, John A. Loring, Edward C. Cabot, and J. Lange of Boston, Rev John Pierpont of Medford, Dr B. A. Gould Jr. of Cambridge, Rev. Henry A. Miles of Lowell, & Samuel Downer Jr. of Dorchester.

Dr. W^m A. Alcott brought forward his amendment proposing that a majority of black balls shall exclude in place of one in ten. The amendment to the Constitution was rejected, and on motion of Mr S. D. Robbins it was

Voted that this subject be referred to a select Com. of three, nominated at large, who shall ascertain who the present members of the Club are, what additional persons who have been voted in intend to become members, and shall also report at each monthly meeting the names of those gentlemen nominated, who, if elected, will become members of the Club. Messrs. R. E. Apthorp, S. D. Robbins, & J. S. Dwight were elected members of the select Committee. On motion of the Rev. S. D. Robbins it was voted that the 8th Art. of the Constitution be amended by the erasure of the words "quarterly" and "on the first Thursday of Jan., April, July and October."

The question for discussion being brought forward, viz. "What book needs to be written with the least possible delay to meet the wants of men?," it

was voted to lay it on the table.

After considerable discussion between Messrs Alcott, Egan, Mack, Robbins and Stone, it was voted that the conversations of the Club be held weekly commencing Oct 4th, and continuing on the first and third Thursday of each month at 3, P.M, and on the remaining Thursdays, beginning at 7 P.M. Motions to have a Committee appointed to present subjects for conversations, and to have "Art" or "plastic art" the first subject, were severally rejected, and it was

Voted that the subject be left open for general conversation at the first afternoon meeting in October.

Voted that the Corresponding Sec'y be requested to send to each member of the Club, a card containing the times and place of our regular meetings.

Adjourned James W. Stone Rec'g Sec'y

1849 Oct 4

Monthly meeting of the Club, 27 members present. Rev. S. D. Robbins was called to the Chair; the records were read and accepted.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Club--- Rev. Josh. Young of Boston, Messrs. Fred. Howes of Salem, Geo. Walker of Chicopee, and Dr. Edw. Jarvis of Dorchester.

Mr Apthorp from the Committee appointed to ascertain the intentions of those elected, with regard to joining the Club, reported a list of those, who had either not paid their assessment fee or not signed the Constitution, but yet had either been original members, or had been since elected.

In accordance with a motion of Mr Apthorp, it was voted that each nominator of any person elected to membership & who has not paid his subscription fee, be requested to inform the select Committee, of which Mr R. E. Apthorp is Chairman, whether the person nominated intends to become a member.

Mr Apthorp stated that those just elected intended to become members of the Club.

The Corresponding Sec'y presented a letter from Jas. T. Fisher Esq. resigning his office as a member of the Executive Committee. The resignation was accepted, and it was voted that the remaining members of the Exec. Committee be requested to fill the vacancy in that body.

At 11 1/2 A.M. a paper was read by Mr E. P. Whipple upon the subject of "Character." Many illustrations of the peculiarities of individuals, and of the strength of character evinced by remarkable men were introduced, and the essay was listened to during its delivery, which occupied an hour, with marked attention.

Dr Stone gave notice that, at the next monthly meeting, he should move an amendment to the third Article of the Constitution so that a President and two Vice Presidents be added to our list of officers, & such other alterations in the Constitution as this amendment may make necessary.

Mr Nath'l. Hawthorne of Salem was selected to read a paper before the Club at the first meeting in Feb'y, or previous to that time in case any gentleman appointed for one of the previous meetings should decline.

Voted to adjourn
Attest James W. Stone
Rec. Sec'y

1849 Oct 4.

Weekly conversation of the Town and Country Club at 3 P.M. 12 members present.

The subject discussed was "Character," the same as that of the morning essay. A wide range of conversation followed, retaining, however, some relation to the main topic.

Adjourned at 5 1/2 P.M. after remarks from Messrs. Dall, Alcott, Brown and others.

Attest. James W. Stone Rec. Sec'y

1849 Nov. 1

Monthly meeting of the town & Country Club, thirty members present, Rev Chandler Robbins in the Chair, John W. Browne was appointed Sec'y pro tem.

Mr Oliver Stearns of Hingham was elected a member of the Club.

The records of the last meeting were read and accepted.

The corresponding Sec'y announced that Mr Hawthorne of Salem declined to read a paper before the Club on the first meeting in Feb'y & Mr Thos. T. Stone of Salem was elected in his place.

Voted on motion of S. D. Robbins that Mr. Alcott have the use of the Club Room for conversations on such evenings as he shall choose, provided that the meetings of the Club be not incommoded.

Mr Browne being obliged to leave his place was filled by the Recording Sec'y.

Hon Geo. S. Hillard was selected to read a paper before the Club on the first Thursday of March.

Voted to have the regular hour for reading the papers before the Club, 11 A.M.

In accordance with notice at a previous meeting, J. W. Stone proposed that after "shall be" in the third article of the Constitution, the words "a President two Vice Presidents" be inserted, and other amendments rendered necessary by this change. The consideration of the amendment was postponed to the next quarterly meeting.

Mr Henry James of N. York read a paper before the Club on "the antagonism between Socialism and Civilization."

Adjourned
Attest James W. Stone
Recording Sec'y

[Next page:]

1849 Dec. 5th

At the Monthly Meeting this day there were 16 or 18 members present. S. D. Robbins was in the chair, and C. K. Whipple Sec. pro tem.

The records of the last meeting were read.

George Eaton and Samuel K. Lothrop, both of Boston, were elected members of the Club.

John Weiss of New-Bedford, and William B. Greene of West-Brookfield, were chosen to read papers before the club.

John S. Dwight having excused himself from reading the paper which was expected this day, it was Voted that Edwin P. Whipple be his substitute.

Robert E. Apthorp, for the Executive Committee, reported that the funds of the Club were nearly exhausted, and that an assessment of two dollars should be laid on each member to meet the remaining expenses of the year. He also intimated that the expenses of the first year were necessarily greater than those of succeeding ones would be, & that after this year the five dollars subscription would probably be sufficient.

After a brief discussion, showing the desire of those who spoke that the expenses of the Club should be kept within the bounds of the original subscription, the subject was laid on the table until there should be a larger attendance.

At 12, M. a paper was read by Edwin P. Whipple on the American Mind, after which the Club adjourned.

C. K. Whipple, Sec. pro tem.

1850 Jan 3.

Monthly Meeting 16 members present, Rev. S. D. Robbins in the Chair.

The records were read and accepted. Voted that Revs. Wm B. Greene of W. Brookfield, John Weiss of N. Bedford, and Mr Jas. R. Lowell of Cambridge, who had all been previously invited, be requested to read papers before the Club in the order of their names in Feb, March, and April respectively, and each of the last two be a substitute for the preceding one, in case there should be a failure to read by either of the first two.

Mr Ralph W. Emerson of Concord Ms. was invited to deliver the annual oration in one of the public Halls of this city, and the Executive Committee were requested to make arrangements for the same.

Dr. Wm O. Johnson of Lynn, and Rev. Samuel H. Winkley of Boston were elected members.

On motion of Mr Geo. C. Ward, it was voted to reconsider the motion, adopted at the last meeting, to lay upon the table the subject of an assessment "until there should be a larger attendance."

On motion of Mr Apthorp, it was voted that an assessment of two dollars be made on each member of the Club, with the understanding that it should be remitted at the end of six months, if, at that time, it should be thought by the Exec. Com., that the regular annual subscription would pay the expenses of the Club for the year then ensuing.

The amendment to the Constitution presented by the Rec'g Secretary at the Nov. meeting, was taken from the table, and after a verbal amendment suggested by Mr Lothrop, adopted as follows.

In Art. 3d, after "Club shall be," insert a President, two Vice Presidents.

Insert at the close of the third Article, Article 4. The President, and in his absence, one of the Vice Presidents, shall preside at the meetings of the Society.

Erase the figure "4" after "Article," and substitute 5.

Erase the figure "5" after "Article," and substitute 6.

In the same article, before the words, "He shall open," insert in the absence of the President and Vice Presidents.

Erase the words "Article 6."

Voted that the hour of our meetings be changed to 3 1/2 o'clock P.M., and of reading the papers to 4 o'clock.

Voted that the Corresp'g Sec'y be requested to notify each member of the monthly meetings by printed note.

A motion to appoint a Committee on "the dinner" was, with various amendments, lost.

Voted that the Exec. Com. be requested to file all newspapers except the daily ones.

James W. Stone Rec'g Sec'y

1850 Feb. 7

Monthly meeting, 25 members present.
Mr Wm A. White of Watertown in the Chair.

On motion of Mr A. B. Alcott Voted that Rev Thomas T. Stone of Salem be invited to read a paper before the Club in March, vs. Mr Weiss declined; on ballot Dr Ephraim Peabody was elected as a substitute to Mr Stone, in case he should decline.

The Treasurer reported that 37 members had paid the extra assessment, and that probably not more than fifty more would pay the same. Mr Apthorp reported from the Exec. Com. that in order to carry on the operations of the Club to May next, it would be necessary to stop the subscription to the newspapers and magazines which were not paid for. Dr Loring inquired whether any members had withdrawn on account of the assessment, to which the Treasurer responded that the cause of withdrawal of eight or nine of the members was generally on account of an inability to attend the meetings of, or derive benefit from the Club. The rule for reading the paper at 4 P.M. was temporarily suspended.

Rev. S. D. Robbins moved that the financial year should commence Jan 1st instead of May 1st, which motion was opposed by Dr Loring and Mr Dall, & was lost.

A motion presented by Mr Alcott to change the hour of meeting to the Eve'g was opposed by Messrs

Mack and Bradford and lost. Mr Fisher suggested that if the only object of the existence of the Club was to listen to papers, the room now occupied might be dispensed with, and one hired monthly at a trifling cost. Mr May wished to hear Mr Greene's paper, and moved to lay the whole subject on the table. Mr Mack hoped that the subject would be referred to the Exec. Com. to report a plan at the next meeting to extricate the Club from its difficulties. While Mr May's motion was temporarily withdrawn, Mr Alcott moved and it was

Voted that when we adjourn, it shall be to this eve'g at 7 1/2 o'clock. On motion of Mr Robbins it was

Voted that a Com. of three be appointed to take the matter into consideration and report at the next monthly meeting. Mr J. W. Browne, Dr Loring and Mr Apthorp were selected as the Com.

At 4 1/2 P.M., Rev. W.m B. Greene of W. Brookfield read a paper on the subject of "Mutualism—— that it ought to exist in the human race, and the manner in which the principle of Mutualism is now violated in Society." Usury was considered the great evil of the present day. Adjourned.

Attest James W. Stone Rec'g Secretary

1850 Mar. 7

Monthly meeting 26 members present. Rev. S. K. Lothrop in the chair, the records of the last meeting wore read and accepted.

On motion of Mr Apthorp, it was Voted that those persons elected members of the Club after the laying of the assessment shall not be required to pay the same.

On motion of the Rec'g Sec'y, it was Voted that all those elected within three months immediately preceding the annual meeting, shall, by payment of the admission fee, be exempted from the regular annual assessment at the first annual meeting in May succeeding.

On motion of Dr Loring it was Voted to postpone the report of the Com. appointed at the last meeting till after hearing the paper on "Conversation," which was read by Rev. Henry Giles.

The Com. then reported the actual and estimated expenses of the Club from its organization to May next to be $811.57

Actual and estimated receipts	692.
Balance short	$119.57
The Treasurer reported receipts unexpected from new members	12.
Balance to be raised	$107.57

To meet this amount, the Com. recommended that a voluntary subscription be opened, & that such sums as the members subscribe shall be refunded to them during the ensuing year. The Com. also recommended a reorganization of the Club and economy.

Dr Loring made remarks concerning the importance of the Club and the means to be employed to render it more useful, and stated that with a view to carrying into effect the suggestion which had been made of a voluntary subscription, the Com. would themselves head the list with $20.

It was, on motion [of] Mr Browne, Voted that the request of the following to withdraw from the Club be granted, W. Silsbee, E. Jackson, G. S. Hillard, J. E. Williams and S. May Jr., their assessments having been paid.

Dr Bowditch volunteered to assist in collecting from those who had not paid. Remarks were made by Messrs. Hale & Buffum. On motion of Dr. Loring, the following Com. was appointed by nomination of the Chair, to collect the sums due the Club, Drs. Bowditch, Loring, & Cleveland, Messrs. C. K. Whipple & Clapp. On motion of Mr Fisher the following Com. were appointed to present a plan for the reorganization of the Club, Messrs R. W. Emerson, Fisher, & G. C. Ward, Drs. Loring & Johnson.

Rev. Henry Giles was elected a member of the Club, & Mr Chas. Sumner selected to read a paper at the June meeting. On motion of the Recording Sec'y it was

Voted that the Cor'g Sec'y be requested to obtain substitutes in case none of those selected to read accept the invitation.

Attest: James W. Stone Rec'g Sec'y

1850 April 4

Monthly Meeting. Nine members present.

Mr. Alcott was chosen Chairman.

In the absence of the Secretary John W. Browne was chosen Recording Secretary pro tempore.

Mr. Fisher from the Committee on reorganization read a report, which on motion of Mr. Apthorp was laid on the Table.

Dr. Loring, from the Committee on collection of assessments unpaid, made remarks upon the action of the Committee, & the Treasurer made a statement of amounts received.

On motion of the Treasurer it was Voted that the following members upon their request which had been signified to the Treasurer have leave to withdraw. A. C. Spooner, John Pierpont, W. R. Alger, John B. Willard, O. B. Frothingham, T. T. Stone, Wm. A. Alcott.

Mr. Parker, by desire of members, read a letter from Charleston S. C. touching the appearance in that vicinity of the Sea Serpent.

On motion of Dr. Loring it was Voted that the annual Meeting in May be held at 3 o.clock P.M.

Then adjourned
Attest John W. Browne
Secy. pro Tempore

1850 May 2

Annual Meeting. Twelve members present. the number afterwards increased by several members coming in.

Dr. Channing was chosen Chairman. J. W. Browne Secretary pro temp.

Mr. Apthorp made remarks, & stated that it

was thought not expedient to have an annual address, as this was likely to be the final meeting, dissolving the club: The called for a statement from the Treasurer, which was made.

Mr. Fisher called up the report of the Committee on reorganization which was laid on the table at the last meeting, & it was read.

On motion of Dr. Loring it was Voted that the Executive Committee be authorized to take the effects of the Club into their hands, sell the same, & out of the proceeds pay the balance of debts of the Club.

On motion of Mr. Fisher it was voted that the records of the Club be presented to Mr. Alcott.

On motion of Dr. Loring it was Voted that the papers, periodicals &c. of the Club be presented to Mr. Browne the Treasurer.

Mr. Browne declined these, saying he thought the executive committee should sell them as the effects of the Club.

On motion of Mr. Whipple it was voted that when this Meeting adjourn, it be to meet at this place on the 16th. of May to hear the Report of the Executive Committee

The Club then adjourned

John W. Browne
Secy. pro temp.

1850 May 16

Annual Meeting adjourned from May 2d: present Five members of the Club, namely, Messrs. Walter Channing, R. E. Apthorp George B. Loring, C. K. Whipple, and J. T. Fisher.

Mr. Apthorp of the Executive Committee made his Report stating that Sale had been made of all the effects of the Club, and that all the known liabilities and debts of the Club were paid and discharged, leaving a balance in the hands of the Treasurer of seventeen dollars and thirty nine cents.

And it was agreed that this balance, after waiting a reasonable time for any further bill against the Club, undischarged, to come in, be paid by the Treasurer to A. Bronson Alcott, Corresponding Secretary of the Club, for his own use.

Attest John W. Browne Secy. pro temp.

Papers read before The Town and Country Club.

May 2. 1849 by R. W. Emerson on Books and Reading.

July 5 " Theodore Parker The Scholar's Relation to his Age.

Oct 4 " E. P. Whipple on Character.

Nov 1 " Henry James Socialism and Individualism.

Dec 5 " E. P. Whipple American Mind.

Feb 7 1850 Wm. B. Greene Mutualism.

March 7 " Henry Giles Conversation.

Report [No. 1]

The Committee appointed to examine the Financial affairs of the Club respectfully submit the following

Report:--

Total Expenses of the Club to date		701.57
Presumed amt of bills outstanding (not rendered)		20.00
Necessary Expenses from date to End of financial year May 31 50		70.—
Grand Total		$ 791.57
Total receipts of Club to date	$672.00	
Estimated amount to arise from assessment of 57 members not paid	20.00	692.00
Bal. required to carry club thro' the Finl yr.		$ 99.57
Add to this for care of room		20.—
		$ 119.57

In view of this state of things your Committee respectfully but Earnestly recommends:—

1o That immediate provision for this Balance be made by an appeal to the loyalty of the club as represented at this meeting, & that a voluntary subscription be forthwith opened for the purpose, with the understanding that the sums advanced shall be a charge upon the Treasury of the Club & to be refunded after the collection of the regular subscriptions of the 2d " Financial Year

2d " That there be a reorganization of the Club at the Expiration of the present year (May 31.) with a more distinct declaration of its proposed objects & limitation of its uses; & that a Committee be appointed at this present meeting to devise a plan for such reorganization, to be reported at the next monthly meeting, & they earnestly recommend that a Fund, independent of periodical subscription, be made a "sine qua non" in such or any reorganization of the Club.

In conclusion your Committee recommend, as a step required by common prudence, that the Club forego (& that the Executive Committee be so instructed) every convenience which costs money, until full provision shall be made for the above Balance & the foregoing estimates are based on such retrenchment. Yet your committee have satisfied themselves that the man who has, at present, charge of the Room, should be retained--as a point of economy--he having shewed himself faithful & prudent & his wages being less than one half the price asked by several other applicants for the situation-- There was a great loss of the property of the club stationary, periodicals &c. when the room was in charge of a boy & all sorts of irregularities were suffered from the fact that no reliance could be placed on the boys who undertook the charge of the Room. These difficulties were entirely removed on the "accession of the present incumbent" (to borrow an elegant phrase) & the Committee therefore confidently recommend that he be retained in service--at least until the end of this financial year---

All which is respectfully submitted

Geo. B. Loring, Chairman
John W. Browne R. E. Apthorp

Report [No. 2]

The Committee appointed at the last Meeting "to consider & report a plan for the reorganization of the Club" have attended to that duty & beg leave to offer the following Report.

Your Com^{t} after their first meeting invited the attendance of some 12 or 15 gentlemen who were supposed to be much interested in the success of the Club to consult with them upon the best plan for effecting a permanent organization. Three persons beside the Com^{t} attended; and your Com^{t} have decided after much deliberation & comparison of views that there does not appear to be in this community a sufficient number of persons interested & devoted to the object for which this club was formed who are able or willing to meet the expenses incident & necessary for its support.

Your Committee are unanimously of the opinion that in order to place the Club upon a permanent foundation and enable it to offer attractions which will be satisfactory to "men of literary scientific & philanthropic pursuits," a Fund of at least 25000 dollars should be raised, the income of which will defray the Rent of a suitable building with the other attendant expenses, while a much higher Annual Subscription than is now paid will be required to defray expenses of a miscellaneous character. But from the best information which your Com^{t} have received they do not believe such a basis can at present be obtained. They respectfully ask therefore to be discharged from the further consideration of this subject, and in conclusion would recommend that the expenses of the Club be at once reduced to the smallest sum practical by giving up the present Room at the expiration of the lease, and by instructing the Executive Committee to obtain the use of a suitable Hall for the monthly & other occasional meetings of the Club-

Boston Apr 4th 1850 James T. Fisher)
Geo. B. Loring) Com.
Wm Otis Johnson)

[Letter addressed to A. Bronson Alcott:]

6 Bowdoin Sq. Boston
June 18/50

Dr Sir

While absent attending the National Medical Convention at Cincinnati, I understand that the "Town and Country Club" came to a premature death, and that all the valuables in the shape of fifteen or twenty dollars, periodicals &c. were voted to the corresponding Sec'y. Had I been present, I should have voted in the same way with but one exception. I refer to the disposal of the Recording Sec'y's book. And under all the circumstances, could I be permitted to have that, it would be esteemed a favor by

Y^{r} Obt Srvt
James W. Stone

Town and Country Club.—The merchant have their exchange, so have the mechanics—places where they meet each other and discuss subjects of mutual interest. But the men of ideas, in and about Boston, have hitherto had no local communion, no common resort, no interchange of intellectual or spiritual wares, no assembling together to compare notes and fix the price of stocks in their republic of thought and letters. This desideratum is to be supplied by a "Town and Country Club," which has been recently organized with a view, as its constitution expresses it, "to establish a better acquaintance between men of scientific, literary and philanthropic pursuits." We notice on its list of members such names as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry W. Longfellow, E. P. Whipple, J. S. Dwight, S. E. Sewall, A. B. Alcott, Theo. Parker, James T. Fields, and many others.

A large and central club room will be procured, which will be open for the reception of the members daily, and it is proposed to have a *cafe* of a suitable character near by, where refreshments may be procured when desirable. This will particularly accommodate members from the country, who will thus always know where they are likely to meet "kindred spirits."

The club's ordinary meetings will be held on the first Wednesday of every month. Quarterly meetings will be held on the first Wednesdays of January, April, July and October, on which occasions papers and oral communications on literary and general subjects will be offered. The next meeting will be on Wednesday, May 2, at 10 o'clock, A. M., at No. 12 West St.

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1 Volume IV, pp. 139, 142-144, 146, 150, 152, 169, 170, 187.
2 Franklin B. Sanborn, Recollections of Seventy Years, (2 vols.), Boston, 1909.
3 Mr. Pratt has graciously given me permission to edit the contents of this interesting volume.
4 Sanborn, op. cit., II, insert between pp. 306-307. (Sanborn reproduces signatures of members---apparently a different document from any included in the present minute book.)

"We have scarce a misfortune, a hindrance, an infirmity, an enemy, but it is somehow productive of singular advantage to us. After groaning through years of poverty and hard labor, the mind perceives that really it has come the shortest road to a valuable position, that, though the rough climate was not good for leaves and flowers, it was good for timber.... God brings us by ways we known not and like not unto Paradise." Journals, III, 315-316.

TOWN AND COUNTRY CLUB.

---

1. The Town and Country Club is formed to establish better acquaintance between men of scientific, literary, and philanthropic pursuits.

2. After the names of a hundred subscribers shall have been procured, the name of any person may be proposed by any member, and balloted for. No ballot shall be valid, unless ten members actually ballot. One black ball in five shall exclude. On admission, the member shall pay his annual subscription.

3. The annual subscription of each member shall be five dollars.

4. There shall be a Secretary chosen, whose duty it shall be to take charge of the Club-Room, to notify the members of special meetings, and to preside at meetings.

5. There shall be a Treasurer, who shall take charge of all moneys, and disburse them under the direction of the Committee.

6. The economies of the Club shall be managed by an Executive Committee of three members, who shall, from time to time, make such regulations as they think fit, which shall be binding, unless set aside by a general meeting.

7. The Club shall hold an ordinary meeting on the first (Wednesday) of every month. Its quarterly meetings, on the first (Wednesdays) of January, April, July, and October, shall be occasions for the offering of papers or oral communications on literary and general questions.

8. The Club-Room shall be open every day, for the reception of members, from o'clock, A. M. till o'clock, P. M.

A. B. Cleveland Dedham
Geo. B. Emerson Boston
Charles Cleveland do
Samuel Downer Jr. Roxbury
B. A. Gould " Cambridge
Hasbrouck Davis Watertown

Town and Country Club,

15, Tremont Row.

1. The Club Room is open every day from 8, A.M. till 7, P.M. between April first and October first; and from 8, A.M. till 10, P.M. the remainder of the year.

2. The Annual Meetings will be held on the first Thursday in May, at half-past 9, A.M.

3. The Quarterly Meetings will be held on the first Thursdays in January, April, July, and October, at half-past 9, A.M.

4. The Monthly Meetings will be held on the first Thursday in every month, at half-past 9, A.M.

5. The Weekly Conversations will be held on the first and third Thursdays of every month, beginning in October, at 3, P.M.; and on the second and fourth Thursdays (and the fifth, when it occurs), at 7, P.M.

Recording Sec.'s Rooms, 6, Bowdoin Sq.
Treasurer's Rooms, 19, Court Street.

Boston, Sept. 7, 1849.

S. K. Lothrop Jr. Boston
G. H. Wiesecke "
M. Otis Johnson Lynn
Johnson Young Boston
O. M. Ellis Boston

[FIRST PUBLISHED CONSTITUTION AND LIST OF MEMBERS]

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Club Room, No. 15 Tremont Row.

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ARTICLE 11. This Constitution may be altered or amended at any regular monthly meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present. Provided notice be given of such amendment at the previous monthly meeting.

MEMBERS.

R. WALDO EMERSON,
J. ELLIOT CABOT,
JAMES T. FISHER,
} *Executive Committee.*

A. BRONSON ALCOTT, *Corresponding Secretary.*
JAMES W. STONE, *Recording Secretary.*
JOHN W. BROWNE, *Treasurer.*

C. Allen Browne,
Walter Channing,
George P. Bradford,
J. Earl Williams,
Samuel G. Ward,
Edmund L. Benson,
A. Burlingame,
S. H. Phillips,
C. B. Fairbanks,
J. F. Flagg,
Allen C. Spooner,
Alpheus C. Morse,
C. H. A. Dall,
Edward Bang,
Theodore Parker,
George S. Hillard,
John T. Sargent,
Samuel D. Robbins,
Charles C. Shackford
Le Baron Russell,
Chandler Robbins,
S. G. Howe,
William Silsbee,
Richard Soule, Jr.,
John S. Dwight,
O. B. Frothingham,
Alfred Norton,
William A. Alcott,
W. R. Alger,
Francis Jackson,
Bernard Roelker,
Jno. O. Choules,
A. L. Stimson,
James Bunker Congdon,
J. R. Lowell,
Benjamin Rodman,
Edmund Jackson,
Elizur Wright,
R. E. Apthorp,
Ephraim Peabody,
James Egan,
James F. Clarke,
John B. Willard,
Charles K. Whipple,
C. A. Bartol,
John Flint,
E. Rockwood Hoar,
William A. White,
E. P. Clark,
Charles Sumner,
S. E. Sewall,
Joseph Willard,
Horatio Woodman,
George Bemis,
Ellis Gray Loring,
John G. King,
Otis Clapp,
W. H. Dennet,
James Tolman,
James T. Fields,
W. D. Ticknor,
T. P. Chandler,
F. Haven,
E. P. Whipple,
Wm. B. Greene,
Ben: Perley Poore,
Geo. B. Loring,
John Cheney,
Geo. W. Light,
A. B. Mussey,
Samuel Johnson,
Stephen C. Phillips,
John G. Palfrey,
Charles Kraitsir,
Convers Francis,
Robert Townley,
W. F. Channing,
Geo. C. Ward,
Henry W. Longfellow,
T. Wentworth Higginson,
H. I. Bowditch,
E. E. Hale,
John C. Wyman,
Frederic H. Hedge,
Wm. H. Channing,
Gilbert L. Streeter,
John Orvis,
Thomas Hill,
J. F. Flagg,
E. L. Frothingham,
Frederic Beck,
H. Perabeau,
J. A. Andrew,
John S. Holmes.

TOWN AND COUNTRY CLUB.

Club Room, No. 15 Tremont Row.

[Second Published Constitution and List of Members.]

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Boston, 18

SIR:

At the monthly meeting of the Town and Country Club, 18 you were elected a member of the same.

You are respectfully requested to sign the Constitution at the next meeting of the Club. 18 at 15 Tremont Row.

Recording Secretary.

MEMBERS.

APTHORP ROBERT E., Esq., Boston,
CABOT, J. ELLIOT, Esq., Boston,
FISHER, JAMES T. Esq., Boston,
} *Executive Committee.*

ALCOTT, A. BRONSON, Esq., Boston, *Corresponding Secretary.*
STONE, Dr. JAMES W., Boston, *Recording Secretary.*
BROWNE, JOHN W., Esq., Boston, *Treasurer.*

[Continued on next page.]

Alcott, Dr. William A., West Newton,
Alger, Rev. William R., Roxbury,
Andrew, John A., Esq., Boston,
Bangs, Edward, Esq. "
Bartol, Rev. Cyrus A., "
Beck, Frederic, Esq., "
Bemis, George, Esq., "
Benzon, Edmund L., Esq., "
Bowditch, Dr. Henry I., "
Bradford, George P., Esq., Jamaica Plain,
Browne, C. Allen, Esq., Boston,
Buffum, James N., Esq., Lynn,
Burlingame, Anson, Esq., Boston,
Chamberlain, H. H., Esq., Worcester,
Chandler, Theophilus P., Esq., Boston,
Channing, Dr. Walter, "
Channing, Dr. William F., "
Channing, Rev. William H., "
Cheney, John, Esq., "
Choules, Rev. Jno. O., Newport, R. I.
Clapp, Otis, Esq., Boston,
Clark, E. P., Esq., "
Clarke, Rev. James F., Boston,
Congdon, James Bunker, Esq., New Bedford,
Dall, Rev. C. H. A., Needham,
Dennet, W. H., Esq., Boston,
Dwight, John S., Esq., Boston,
Egan, James, Esq., "
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, Esq., Concord,
Fairbanks, Charles B., Esq., Boston,
Farley, James P., Esq., Chelsea,
Fields, James T., Esq., Boston,
Flagg, Dr. Josiah F, "
Fliat, Dr. John, "
Francis, Rev. Convers, Cambridge,
Frothingham, E. L., Esq., Boston,
Frothingham, Rev. Octavius B., Salem,
Greene, Rev. William P., West Brookfield,
Hale, Rev. Edward E., Worcester,
Haven, Franklin, Esq., Boston,
Hawthorne, Hon. Nathaniel, Salem,
Hedge, Rev. Frederic H., Bangor, Me.,
Higginson, Rev. T. Wentworth, Newburyport,
Hill, Rev. Thomas, Waltham,
Hillard, George S., Esq., Boston,
Holmes, John S., Esq., "
Hoar, Hon. E. Rockwood, Concord,
Hollingsworth, Lyman, Esq., Boston,
Howe, Dr. Samuel G., Boston,
Jackson, Edmund, Esq., "
Jackson, Francis Esq., "
Johnson, Rev. Samuel, Salem,
King, John G., Esq., Boston,
King, Rev. Thomas Starr, Boston,
Light, Geo. W., Esq., "
Longfellow, Prof. Henry W., Cambridge,
Loring, Ellis Gray, Esq., Boston,
Loring, Dr. Geo. B., Chelsea,
Lowell, James Russell, Esq., Cambridge,
Mack, David, Esq., Watertown,
May, Rev. Samuel, Jr., Leicester,
Miller, Ephraim F, Esq., Salem,
Morse, Alpheus C., Esq., Boston,
Muzzey, Rev. Artemas B., Cambridgeport,
Norton, Alfred, Esq., Medford,
Orvis, John, Esq., Boston,
Palfrey, Hon. John G., Cambridge,
Parker, Rev. Theodore, Boston,
Peabody, Rev. Ephraim, Boston,
Perabeau, H, Esq., "
Phillips, Hon. Stephen C., Salem,
Phillips, Stephen H., Esq., "
Pike, William B., Esq., Boston,
Poore, Benjamin Perley, Esq., Boston,
Robbins, Rev. Chandler, Boston,
Robbins, Rev. Samuel D., Chelsea,
Rodman, Benjamin, Esq., New Bedford,
Roelker, Bernard, Esq., Boston,
Russell, Dr. Le Baron, "
Sargent, Rev. John T., "
Sewall, Samuel E., Esq., "
Shackford, Rev. Charles C., Lynn,
Silsbee, Rev. William, Salem,
Soule, Richard, Jr., Esq., East Boston,
Spooner, Allen C., Esq., Boston,
Stimson, Alexander, L., Esq., Boston,
Stone, Rev. Thomas T., Salem,
Streeter, Gilbert L., Esq., "
Sumner, Charles, Esq., Boston,

Ticknor, William D., Esq, Boston,
Tolman, James, Esq., "
Townley, Rev. Robert, Charlestown,
Ward, George C., Esq., Boston,
Ward, Samuel G., Esq, Lenox,
Westall, John, Esq., Fall River,
Whipple, Charles K., Esq., Boston,
Whipple, Edwin P., Esq., "
White, William A., Esq, Watertown,
Willard, Rev. John B., Westford,
Willard, Joseph, Esq., Boston,
Williams, J. Earl, Esq., "
Woodman, Horatio, Esq., Boston,
Wright, Elizur, Esq., "
Wyman, John, C. Esq., Worcester.

N. B. The above is a list of those who had signed the Constitution at the date of the monthly meeting in July.

FRESHMAN THOREAU OPPOSES HARVARD'S MARKING SYSTEM

By the Editor.

At some time between March 16 and 28, 1834, Thoreau signed the following Freshman petition to the faculty of Harvard College, opposing the system of rank then in force. All four classes submitted petitions. The two received before March 10 were considered by the faculty on that date. All were considered on March 28. This document appears in College Papers (Second Series), VI, p. 111 recto and verso, in the Harvard Archives. It is edited here with permission.

To the Honourable Faculty of Harvard University

The undersigned members of the Freshman class, believing it to be the sole object of your honourable body to act in such a manner as best to promote the interests of those under your immediate control, and deeming it their duty as well as privilege to make known to your body in conjunction with others their feelings ask leave to present for your consideration their views on the system of rank at present adopted. We have no doubt that the original design of this system was good, But at the present time instead of being as it was probably intended by those who introduced it a consequence resulting from labour with higher and nobler motive in view, it has become in a great degree the primary and sole object and with its attainment, in whatever manner, all exertion ceases. That this system tends to produce envy and jealousy among those whose interests require that they should at least in some degree be united we think is evident. We believe moreover that the time has arrived when literary standing must depend on something more than mere college rank, when a nobler motive must prompt the student to action than the petty emulation of the school-boy, when he must have a higher standard of action than the mere marks of his instructer. Again we think the direct tendency of this system to produce superficial scholars is as strong argument in favour of its abolition. So long as this system of rank is the criterion by which his scholarship is to be judged it will be his endeavour not so much to become thoroughly acquainted with a subject as to study it in such a manner as will best insure his success in the recitation room. Impressed with these views we submit them to your consideration with the request that some measures may be taken for the abolition of that system which has produced so universal disatisfaction.

views we submit them to your consideration with the request that some measures may be taken for the abolition of that system which has produced so universal dissatisfaction.

J. H. Adams –
×

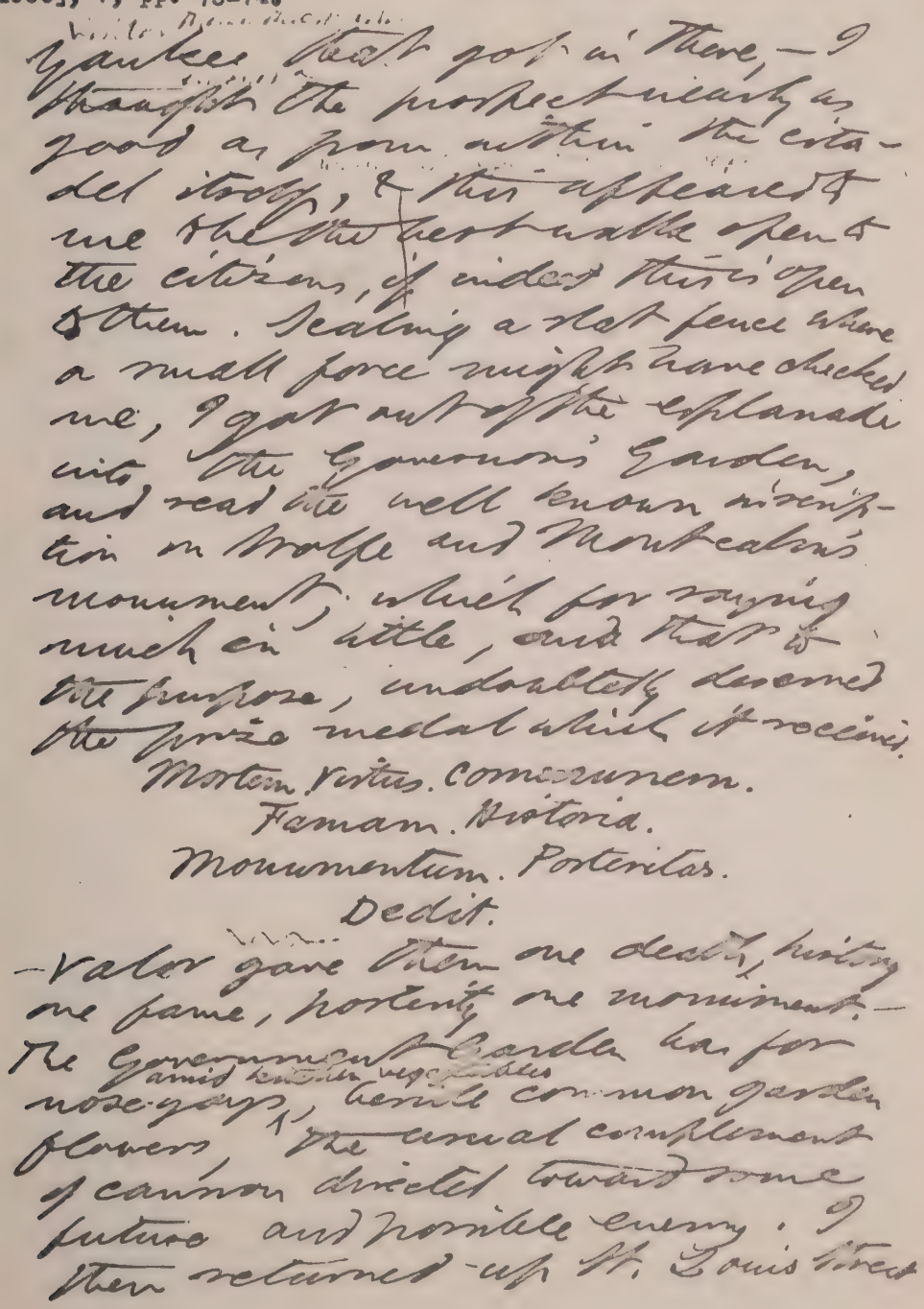
Simeon F. Barstow
O. Beleker.
[illegible] Bergen
H. J. Bigelow
[illegible] B. & C. Clapp
[illegible] C. Clark
[illegible] Dall
W. H. Greenough
Wm. David.
W. A. David.
John F. Eustis
Lewis [illegible] Fellows
Horatio E. Hale
David G. Haskins,
Wm. Hayes
Chas. Hayward Jr.
S. P. Hibbard Jr.
E. G. Holmes
C. P. Holmes,
Henry Hubbard
Hamlet L. Kendall
Edward H. Kellell.

Benj. G. Kimball
J. F. W. Lane
J. J. Lincoln
A. Perry
C. T. Russell
[illegible] Shreau
Thomas
Treat
Samuel Trull.
Henry Vose.
John Wells.
Giles M. Whitney
B. W. Witwell
Henry Williams Jr.
Fred. S. Williams

× The members of the class whose names are not appended, are absent & it is believed that they coincide generally, in opinion, with the majority of the class.

A MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENT OF THOREAU'S QUEBEC JOURNEY OF 1850 By the Editor

The page of manuscript reproduced herewith from the collection of Clifton Waller Barrett, Esq., of 120 Wall Street, New York City, is a fragment of the now dispersed original journal of at least eighty-four pages. (See Journal, II, 74.) One may compare it with the present text in The Writings (Walden Edition), Boston & N.Y., [1906], V, pp. 73-74.


Yankee that got in there, — I thought the rose-bushes nearly as good as from within the established stock, & this appeared to me the best method of opening the citizens, & indeed this is open to them. Scaling a rail fence where a small force might have checked me, I got out of the esplanade into the Governors' Garden, and read the well known inscription on Wolfe and Montcalm's monument; which for saying much in little, and that to the purpose, undoubtedly deserved the prize medal which it received.

Mortem virtus communem.
Famam historia.
Monumentum posteritas.
Dedit.

— valor gave them one death, history one fame, posterity one monument. —

The Government Garden has for rose-bushes, amid [illegible] beside common garden flowers, the usual complement of cannon directed toward some future and possible enemy. I then returned up St. Louis street

THOREAU'S EARLY COMPOSITIONS IN THE ANCIENT LANGUAGES By the Editor.

I shall here deal with two exercises of Thoreau's college days. The earlier is "A Greek Dialogue: Decius and Cato," which he and Manlius Stimson Clarke delivered at the Harvard Exhibition of Monday, July 13, 1835;[1] the later one is a Latin epitaph on Tahattawan, which I date *circa* December 21, 1836——that is, during a Christmas vacation from college.[2] The "Cliffs" to which this second refers are on the south side of Fair Haven Hill in Concord, the site of many of Tahattawan's exploits.[3]

The Cliffs——a Cenotaph.

[2] Siste qui conscendis!

[3] Hic

[4] Filius Naturae

[5] T A H A T T A W A N, Sachimaupan,*

[6] Extremus Indorum,

[7] Venatus, hoc rivo piscatus est.

[8] Per agros, prata, collesque, regnavit,

[9] At si famae credendum est,

[10] Manus non longas habuit.

[11] Homo, Princeps, Christianus,

[12] Quamvis inculˆtus non indeploratus.

[13] In moribus scilicet austerus et sine levitate;

[14] Sermone grandis, venustus, imo etiam modicus!!!

[15] Integritate fortitudineque explorata praeclarus.

---

[16] Hoc Scopulum ejus cenotapium esto.

[17] Indi, eheu! Ubique gentium sunt?

"Wehquetumah,—onk—kuttinnumoush—penowohteáog—wutche—kookom-
puhchasuash,—kah—aongkóe—an—ohkeoog—wutche—kutahtó—onk."
Psalm, 2. 8.[4]

Sculptum A. D. 1836.

* "Sachimaupan; he that was prince here. This expression they use, because they abhor to mention the dead by name: and therefore, if any man bear the name of the dead, he changeth his name; and if any stranger accidentally name him, he is checked; and if any wilfully name him, he is fined: and amongst states, the naming of their dead Sachems is one ground of their war[illegible]."

R. Williams' Key into the Language of the Indians of N. E.[5]

I have asked my colleague, Prof. Albert Merriman, of Trinity College, to make

The Cliffs—a Cinclash. 37

Siste qui consendis!
Hic,
Filius Naturae,
Tetahitiah, Sachimaupan,
Extremus Indorum,
beatus, hoc nisi beatus est.
Per agros, perata, collesque, regnavit,
Et—si fama credendum est,
Manus non lugas habuit.
Homo Princeps, Christianus,
Paanus incultus non inilluminatus.
In moribus saliet austeris et sine civitate;
Sermone gravis, venustus, vivo etiam modius!!!
Integritate fortitudineque egregia praeclarus.

Hoc Sepulcrum erectum est.
Tude, chen! Ungue genuein kent?
"Wehgnetumah-onk-kuttinnumoush-pon-aowhteaog
wutcheh-kokombutchasuash-Kahwanghoe-an-ohkeog
wutche-kutahto-onk!" Psalm. 2. 8.
Sculptum A. D. 1836.

*"Sachimaupan; he that was sinister. His expression thereof, because they abhor to mention the dead by name: and therefore, if any man bear the name of the dead, he changeth his name; and if any stranger accidentally name him, he is chastened: and if any wilfully name him, he is fined: and among all tribes, the naming of the dead Sachems is one ground of Warre." R. Williams' Key into the Language of the Indians. p. 2.

the following literal translation of the above epitaph and to comment on its Latinity:

> Stop, thou who hast mounted [here]!/ Here/ A son of Nature/ Tahattawan, Sachimaupan/ The last of the Indians/ Hunted, in this stream he fished./ Over fields, meadows and hills he held sway,/ But if report must be credited/ He possessed no distant bands [i.e., war- or hunting-parties?]/ A Man, Chief, Christian,/ Although unschooled not unlamented./ In character austere and without levity;/ In language lofty [i.e., sublime], charming and withal sparing!!/ In integrity and resolution tried and found pre-eminent./ This cliff shall be his cenotaph./ O Indians, alas! [and] where in the world are they?

Professor Merriman comments as follows: "The Latinity of this piece appears to me unexceptionable. In plan it follows the numerous classical inscriptions,[6] which invite the traveller to pause while he reads the grave stone and bewails the fate of the dead man there buried. The style strikes me as a little verbose and unlapidary [e.g., in line 9, the provision that this is so if what people commonly say can be believed]. Scilicet in line 13 sounds a little like a catalog. The antithesis between moribus (13) and sermone (14) is botched by the insertion of in before moribus. Line 10 strikes me as obscure; but the whole thing (with its unmonumental commas and exclamation points) appears to be the private property, or perhaps the private joke, of some small group or coterie."

I come next to the Exhibition dialogue in Greek.

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1 The MS. is now in the Harvard Archives and is reproduced below with permission. See also the facsimile of the Exhibition program at the end of this article.

2 The MS. is in the Henry E. Huntington Library (HM 946), folio 39. See reproduction. That institution has granted me generous privileges in the entire manuscript.

3 Cf. Emerson Society Quarterly, no. 5 (IV Quarter 1956), pp. 5-7.

4 See John Eliot's Indian Bible: Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God naneeswe Nukkone Testament kah wonk Wusku Testament, Cambridge, 1685. Psalm 2:8 actually reads: Wehquetumah onk kuttinnumoush, penowohteaog wutche kookompuhchasuash kah aongkóe an ohkeoog wutche kutahtó onk. ["Desire of me, and I shall give thee the nations for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession."]

5 See Roger Williams, "A Key into the Language of America: Or an Help to the Language of the Natives, in that part of America, called New England. Together with Brief Observations of the Customs, Manners, and Worships, &c. of the aforesaid Natives, in Peace and War, in Life and Death," Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections for the Year 1794, III (1810), pp. 203-239. The following is the exact quotation from ch. XXXII, "Of Death and Burial": "Sachimaupan; he that was prince here. These expressions [Chepasotam, Mauchauhom, Mauchauhomwooh, Chepeck, Chepasquaw, Yo apapan and Sachimaupan] they use, because they abhor to mention the dead by name: and therefore, if any man bear the name of the dead, he changeth his name; and if any stranger accidentally name him, he is checked; and if any wilfully name him he is fined: and amongst states, the naming of their dead Sachims is one ground of their wars. See Macy's Account of Nantucket, page 159." [From pp. 237-238].

The chapters in this interesting work on the Indians are as follows:

I. "Of salutation" (page 207)
II. "Of eating and entertainment" (208)
III. "Of sleep and lodging" (209)
IV. "Of numbers (210)
V. "Of the relations of consanguinity" (210)
VI. "Of the family and business of the house"
VII. "Of the parts of the body" (213)
VIII. "Of discourse and news" (214)
IX. "Of the time of the day" (216)
X. "Of the season of the year" (216)
XI. "Of travel" (216)
XII. "Of the heavenly lights" (217)
XIII. "Of the weather" (218)
XIV. "Of the winds" (218)
XV. "Of fowl" (219)
XVI. "Of the earth and the fruits thereof"
XVII. "Of beasts" (222)
XVIII. "Of the sea" (223)
XIX. "Of fish and fishing" (224)
XX. "Of nakedness and clothing" (225)
XXI. "Of religion" (226)
XXII. "Of government and justice" (229)
XXIII. "Of marriage" (230)
XXIV. "Of coin" (231)
XXV. "Of buying and selling (232)
XXVI. "Of debts and trusting" (233)
XXVII. "Of hunting" (233)
XXVIII. "Of gaming" (234)
XXIX. "Of war" (235)
XXX. "Of painting" (236)
XXXI. "Of sickness" (236)
XXXII. "Of death and burial" (237)

Διαλογος

[HUC 6834.37]

Δεκιος - - - - - - - - Clarke, Hanbird S.
Κατων - - - - - - - - Thoreau, David. H.

εκιος Ὁ Καισαρ σε χαιρειν διακελευεται.

κιον Ει δυνατον ην φιλους εμου οφαστους χαιρειν διακελευεσθαι, τουτο κεχαρισμενον αν ειη. Ου την προσαγορευσιν βουλην χρη;

κατος Προς σε λεγειν αφικνουμαι. Ὁ Καισαρ τα πραγματα σοι κατως εχειν αισθανεται· και δε αυτω σε μεγα ποιουνται μελει της σης σωτηριας.

Κατον Το αυτο εμοι και τη Ρωμη ειμαρμενον εστι· ει ὁ Καισαρ εμε σωζειν βουλεται κελευε αυτον ουτην πατριδα πορθειν· δωμεν φρασαι τουτο τω αυτοκρατορι, και εμε δυσχερωνειν τον βιον ὃν αυτος δεδοναι εχει.

εκιος Ἡ Ρωμη και ἡ βουλη εκδοτους τω Καισαρι εαυτους ποιουσι· οι αρχοντες και οἱ ἡγεμονες, των αστυ νικοντων ες θριαμβων αυτον εμποδιζοντες, εστεψαντων. Δια τι προς τον Καισαρα καταστηναι χαριν φευγεις;

ειον Σος λογος αυτος τουτο διακωλυει.

εκιος Ὠ Κατον, κελεὔομαι προθυμως σε των σων βουλευματων αποστρεφειν. Τον επικειμενον σοι κινδυνον διασκοπει τον τε ολεθρον εν τωνυν απειλουντα σοι. Πλειστων τιμων παρα των πολιτων απολαυσας εμοντον προχωρειν προς τε τον Καισαρα καταστηναι χαριν βουλη. Ἡ Ρωμη χαριν σε ὑπερτατον βροτων αναβεβηκε.

Κατον Αλις των τοιουτων· ου προσδοκαν τον βιον επι τοιοισδε εμοι

προσηκει.

Δεκιος Ὁ Καισαρ τας σας αρετας γνωριζει, διοτι την σην σωτηριαν πολλου τιμα αυτῳ επισταλλε επι ποσῳ δεξαιτ' αν σε ὁμολογιας τε εκτ

Κατων Κελευε μεν αυτον τοὺς λοχους διαπεμπειν την δε τῃ δημοκρατιᾳ ελευθερ αποδιδοναι, και τα πεπραγμενα αναφερειν προς το συγκλητον, τουτων πε μενον, εγω προς αυτον φιλιαν πρᾳξω,

Δεκιος Ὦ Κατον, παντες την σην σοφιαν αγαν επαινουσι.

Κατων Κελευε μεν αυτον, εμης φωνης· ου φιλουσης τους εν κακοις ολοντας απολυειν και αμαρτηματα καλλυνειν, εγωγε επι τοιουτῳ αυτου χαριν αναβησομαι και τον δημον πεισω αυτῳ ἁμαρτηματα συγγινωσκειν.

Δεκιος Τῳ νικωντι ταδε επη πρεπει.

Κατων Ω Δεκιε· ταυτα τα επη Ρωμαιῳ πρεπει.

Δεκιος Τι εστι Ρωμαιος τῳ Καισαρι εχθρος.

Κατων Μειζων του Καισαρος, ὁ φιλος της αρετης εστι.

Δεκιος Μεμνησο ὁτι τοπου· Ουτε κρυπτειναι μικρης βουλης προσδρευειν. Ουτε εν τῃ αγορᾳ, παντων των Ρωμαιων επιφωνουντων, δημηγορειν.

Κατων Αυτον τουτο διὰ μνημης εχειν χρη ὁς ἡμας διηρωτᾳει: Τω του Καισαρ ξιφος την της Ρωμης βουλην ωλεσσε. Φευ· ἡ τολμα και ἡ ευτυχια σε τα ομματα εκστατικον εξαπατωσι· ει αυτον καλως σκοπεις, με μολυσμενος φονῳ, προδοσιᾳ, ασεβειᾳ, και μιασμασι ὡν την μνημην μονην βαμβων φαντασεται, συνοιδα εμαυτῳ δυστανῳ και εχθρῳ κακ οις φαινουσιν, αλλα προς των θεων ομνυμι ὁτι εκατον μυριαδων κοσμον φερομενων, ουκ ὁδε Καισαρ ειην.

Ιππιος Τοιαυτην αποκρισιν τῳ Καισαρι ὁ Κατων· αποπεμπει, αντι παντων ων αυτου εμοιγον προνοιων της σε φιλιας εκουσιως προσφερομενης;

των Αυσου προνοια ὑβριστικη και μειαια εστιν. ὦ ὑπερφρων ανηρ· οὐ
γαρ εμου προνοιαι εχουσι· σε ὁ Καισαρ ἡν μεγαλοψυχιαν επιδειξα
νυναι βουλεται, δεεται ουν προνοιαν τινος εμων φιλων εχειν, και τω
μηδεν ἡν δυνασεια κακος επιμενη.
ως δια ἡν σην αδαμαστην καρδιαν επιλανθανει σεαυτου ονεα.
Κεκωφηκεις τον σον οικειον. Αλλ' ὡν τοιουτων· ουκ απαγγελλω πως
ταυτη ἡ προθυμια διαπραξεται ἡ Ρωμη δακρυα χεουσα.

DIALOG

DECIUS Caesar bids you hail [to be well].

CATO If it were possible to bid my slain friends to be well, it might be welcome. Ought you not to address the Senate [i.e., of Utica]?

DECIUS I come to speak to you. Caesar perceives your affairs to go badly, and since he sets great store by you, he is concerned with your well being.

CATO I share the same fate as Rome. If Caesar wishes to preserve me, bid him not to destroy his country. Tell this to the dictator, and that I scorn the life which he has to give.

DECIUS Rome and the [Roman] Senate have given themselves up entirely to Caesar. [But] the archons [consuls?] and the generals [tribunes?] have persisted in impeding his victories and triumphs. Why do you avoid laying up this merit with Caesar?

CATO Your word itself [i.e., your very speech] prevents this.

DECIUS Cato, I bid you kindly to turn from your designs. Consider the dangers overhanging you and the destruction presently threatening you. You will enjoy many honors at the hands of the citizens, if only you are willing to accede and earn Caesar's gratitude. Rome will rejoice and look up to you as the highest of mortals.

CATO Enough of such remarks. It does not befit me to expect [await] life on such terms.

DECIUS Caesar is acquainted with your merits; wherefore [that is why] he values your well-being highly. Inform him at what price he may receive you [i.e., your political support], and proclaim your terms of agreement.

CATO Bid him to disperse his legions and return its freedom to the Republic, and to refer his deeds to the Senate. This done, I will make [enter upon] friendship with him.

DECIUS Cato, all praise your wisdom too highly!

CATO Bid him, since my voice loves not those apprehended in evil, to remove and rectify his sins. I will mount the rostrum for his sake and will persuade the people to pardon his errors.

DECIUS It is the conqueror that these words befit.

CATO Decius, these words befit a Roman.

DECIUS Why is a Roman an enemy to Caesar?

CATO Greater than Caesar, he [i.e., a Roman] is the friend of virtue.

DECIUS Remember where you are, that you are of Utica, that you are chairman of a small junta. You do not now stir the people in the Forum, all Romans shouting assent.

CATO He who drove us to it should remember this: The sword of Caesar has diminished the Sen-

ate of Rome. Alas! His victory and luck deceive your eyes wildly; if you regard him rightly, he is stained with murder, treason, sacrilege, pollution, of whose memory alone he will appear to be terrified. I am conscious that I appear unhappy and exposed to misfortunes, but I swear before the gods that if one hundred times ten thousand honors were offered to me, I would not be this Caesar.

DECIUS Is such the answer Cato returns to Caesar in return for [view of] all his gracious consideration [forethought], when his friendship is voluntarily offered you?

CATO His forethought is insulting and vain. Arrogant man! The gods have forethought for me; if Caesar wishes to show his high-mindedness, he must have forethought for these friends of mine and use well the power so wrongly seized.

DECIUS Because of your hard heart you forget that you are mortal. You are rushing to your destruction. Enough of such words! When I report back how my embassy has fared, all Rome will shed tears.

Professor Merriman makes the following observations on style and language:

1) A number of words used in the "Dialog" are found only in poetry and late authors:

4 σφακτούς 41 θεοσυλία 51 θνητόν

20 βροτῶν 42 δυστάνῳ 52 ἐισπίπτεις with the accusative without preposition.

39 ὠλίγωσε 42 θαμβῶν

I judge that the model of the "Dialog" is Plutarch or Lucian, and this fact might account for the use of some of these words. A writer nowadays would probably take Plato as his model. It is interesting to me to see the eighteenth-century curriculum still lingering on at Harvard. I suspect this piece antedates the time when classical Greece had been rediscovered by German scholarship. Hellenists were still looking at Greece through the eyes of the Roman authors of the Empire.

2) Mistakes in writing:

12 νικωντων for νικῶν τῶν

45 Καιραι for Καισαρι

47 μεταια for μάταια. At least, I suppose the latter is meant.

51 ἀδαμαντην for ἀδαμάντινην.

3) Solecisms

7 και δε (This may be a later usage, but I doubt it.)

7 μεγα ποιουντι for μεγα ποιουμένῳ

17-18 ἀπειλουντι for ἀπειλοῦντα

18 ει for ἐὰν. 32 ταδε επη 44 ὁδε Καισαρ

(The article is required with the forms of ὅδε).

49 τωνδε εμων φιλων

42 εχθετῳ I take for ἐκθέτῳ; if so, it should be ἐκκειμένῳ and perhaps is intended to mean 'proscribed' rather than 'exposed' as I have translated.

44 εἰην should be replaced by an infinitive, or at least by ἦν.

46 σε for σοι.

24 ἐκτιθέτι I take to be an aorist passive imperative, which form is so rare that Veitch[7] quotes it only from the physician Galen. I have translated it 'proclaim', which I judge to give the general sense, but the form is surely wrong.

40-41 After μεμολυσμένος I have supposed that ἔστι has been omitted. It would be possible to construe the participle with φανήσεται ("will appear stained"), but then there would be no construction for θαμβῶν.

53 χυζει for χυσει, late form of χεῖ (future of χέω).

4) Sentence structure and style.

a) Greek is a language richly provided with particles and sentence connectives of all kinds. The author of the "Dialog" fails to exploit this treasure, with the result that his periodology is inelegant and the meaning frequently obscure. He merely strings his sentences along, trying to make his sense clear by punctuation. There are examples everywhere. He should have written:

40 εἰ [δ'] αὐτὸν;

11-12 ἡ [μὲν] Ῥώμη καὶ... · οἱ [δ'] ἄρχοντες...

b) Word order. The following are surely incorrect:

5 οὐ τὴν προσαγορεύειν Βουλήν

46 τῆσ σε φιλίας (poetical).

The author writes not a single accent, and only rough breathings——and this after the protests of Porson at the beginning of the century. Harvard was in touch with the Porsonian school——at least, I have a book given to Edward Everett by Peter Paul Dobree in 1818. But the British turned their back upon the Porsonians, as they had done upon Richard Bentley a century earlier.

"... aequum mi animum ipse parabu." — *Horace*

6 For example, see Herman Dessau, ed., Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, (3 vols.), Berolini, 1892-1916.

7 William Veitch, Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective; their forms, meaning and quantity, (new ed.), Oxford, 1871, p. 637.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,

CAMBRIDGE.

ORDER OF PERFORMANCES

FOR

EXHIBITION,

Monday, July 13, 1835.

CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED BY CHARLES FOLSOM.
1835.

ORDER OF PERFORMANCES.

☞ The Performers will speak in the order of their names.

1. A Latin Oration. "De Caii Marii Ævo."

SAMUEL BRECK CRUFT, *Boston.*

2. An English Translation. From Madame de Staël's "Germany."

CHARLES STEARNS WHEELER, *Lincoln.*

3. A Greek Dialogue. "Decius and Cato."

MANLIUS STIMSON CLARKE, *Norton.*
DAVID HENRY THOREAU, *Concord.*

4. A Conference. "Roman, Grecian, and Egyptian Remains."

LORING LOTHROP, *Cohasset.*
GEORGE MINOT, *Haverhill.*
WILLIAM ELLISON PARMENTER, *Cambridge.*

5. A Greek Version. Extract from a Sermon of W. E. Channing.

JOHN FENWICK EUSTIS, *Fort Hamilton, N. Y.*

6. A Latin Dialogue. "Antonius and Ventidius."

CLIFFORD BELCHER, *Farmington, Me.*
HENRY WILLIAMS, *Boston.*

Music.*

The Music will be performed by the Pierian Sodality

3

7. A Forensic Disputation. "Whether the Literature of America be injured by that of Modern Foreign Countries."

HENRY BIGELOW, *Worcester.*
JAMES CHISHOLM, *Salem.*

8. A Latin Version. "Edvardi Everett Orationis apud Societatem *Φ. B. K.* habitæ Pars.

CHARLES HENRY APPLETON DALL, *Boston.*

Music.

9. A Dissertation. "The Effects, upon the Literary Character, of Seclusion and of Society.

ISRAEL MUNSON SPELMAN, *Boston.*

10. An English Version. Extract from Chateaubriand's "Travels in America."

HORATIO EMMONS HALE, *Boston.*

Music.

11. An English Oration. "Skepticism."

ROBERT BARTLETT, *Plymouth.*

TOLSTOY'S QUOTATIONS FROM EMERSON IN THE CYCLE OF READING

By GEORGE HENDRICK

"When I read your letter," Count Leo Tolstoy wrote Edward Garnett in 1901, "it seemed to me impossible that I could send any message to the American people. But thinking over it at night, it came to me that, if I had to address the American people, I should like to thank them for the great help I have received from their writers who flourished about the fifties. I would mention Garrison, Parker, Emerson, Ballou, and Thoreau, not as the greatest, but as those who, I think, specially influenced me."[1]

As early as 1884 Tolstoy was reading Emerson's "Self-Reliance" which he found "charming." He characterized Emerson as "profound, bold, and often capricious and muddled."[2] That same year, after reading Confucius, Tolstoy wrote: "Must compose for myself a Circle of Reading: Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Lao-Tse, Buddha, Pascal, the Gospels."[3] Over twenty years later the Circle of Reading was completed, and in his quotations from Emerson, Tolstoy indicates his favorite passages of the Transcendental philosopher.

The Circle of Reading, an outgrowth of Thoughts of Wise People for Every Day (1903), received most of Tolstoy's attention during 1904 and a part of 1905. It was almost "medieval in conception," Ernest Simmons wrote, and was "designed to reflect in a broad sense Tolstoy's religious philosophy through the medium of a great number of quotations drawn from numerous thinkers and partly from his ow works."[4] Themes, such as "Man's Work on Earth," "On the Ties of Mankind," "The Role of Faith," "The Root of Social Evil," were assigned to each day of the month and appropriate quotations were then listed. Tolstoy indicated his method by explaining,

> Frequently I was obliged to translate the thoughts of the authors from translations in other languages; consequently, my interpretations might possibly deviate slightly from the originals. Another reason, why they may be found not exactly corresponding to the original text, lies therin [sic], that frequently, in extricating an idea from a long discussion, I was compelled, for the sake of a clear and concise impression, to skip some words or sentences and occasionally, though very seldom, to substitute some words for others.
>
> I hope that the readers will forgive me—firstly, for failing to indicate the book-titles and publishers, in citing my quotations, as well as for the slight inaccuracy of the translations, considering that those able and desirous to read the cited passage in their originals, can always find either these originals or accurate translations thereof; chiefly, however, because the object of this book of mine lay not in giving literal quotations from various authors', but in the idea of affording great masses of readers a daily cycle of reading, inspiring higher thoughts and better feelings, through constant and facilitated communion with the greatest and most fruitful thought of various authors.[5]

Aylmer Maude wrote that it was a relief that "the limits of this twenty-one volume edition [the Centenary Edition] preclude the possibility of including A Circle of Reading. Maude noted that it would be difficult to fin the "precise passage referred to" from Tolstoy's free rendering of selections from Ruskin or Emerson.[6]

Tolstoy's Circle of Reading for January, entitled Cycle of Reading, was published in the United States by the International Library Publishing Company of New York City. That firm stated that they planned to publish Tolstoy's work, as translated by Leonard Lewery,

in monthly series, but subsequent volumes apparently never appeared. Tolstoy's paraphrased and altered quotations from Emerson which follow are from the January Cycle of Reading.

January 1 On the Passion of Reading

1

Stop and think what you possess in that little select library of yours. The society of the wisest and worthiest men, which can be chosen from all the civilized nations for a thousand years, or so, has placed at your command, in a best systematized way, the products of their learning and their wisdom. The men themselves are close and inaccessible, they seek retirement and would be impatient were they interrupted by personal intrusion; they would be estranged from you by the conventionalities of etiquette--but the thought, which they were not likely to reveal to the best of their friends even, is brought out here, in full clearness for us, strangers of a different age. We are indebted to books for those chiefest of boons, which were brought about by noble, wise actions. Emerson[7]

January 9 On Premature and Superfluous Study

5

The merit of the greatest thinkers lies therein exactly, that they have expressed, what they thought themselves independent of the books and traditions, which existed before them and of the ideas of the people surrounding them.

In the same way exactly each one of us must look out for and catch on to those bright thoughts, which flash up, ever and anon, like sparks in our consciousness and are fanned by it; for all of us those inner revelations are of far more import, than the contemplation and study of a whole constellation of poets and wizards. Emerson[8]

January 12 On Individual Responsibility

3

We are all like children, who start by repeating the irrefutable truths their grandmas told them, then their schoolmasters, and, as they grow older--other remarkable persons they come across.

Such pains, and all the trouble we give to learning by heart the words we heard! But when we ourselves reach the stage, those leaders of ours stood on, and begin to understand the meaning of the words, so great is our disappointment, we would fain forget all we ever heard from them. Emerson[9]

January 20 The Greatness of the Human Soul

2

For the peoples, as well as for individuals, the shaking off of prejudices does not destroy the moral barriers, only it supercedes the rough and crude barriers by finer ones. Many poor souls lose thereby their ground and support. But that is not anything bad, or dangerous. That is just growth. A child must learn to talk alone. At first a man, with the accustomed prop of an ingrained superstition taken away from him, feels himself lost, homeless.... But by and by, this privation of the external supports drives him within himself and he begins to feel stronger. He feels himself, at last, face to face with the majestic presence of God. He suddenly reads not in a book, but in his soul, the very originals of the ten commandments, the gospel and the epistles. And his little chapel grows into the magnificent cathedral of the celestial dome. Emerson[10]

January 28 The Mystery of the Soul

2

Christ was a true prophet. He perceived the mystery of the soul. He perceived the greatness of man. He was true to that, which dwells in you and in me. He saw God incarnated in the likeness of man.

And, in a state of glorious phrenzy, He said: 'I am of godly origin, God acts through me, speaks through me. If you wish to perceive--regard yourself, when you think and feel, as I now think and feel.'

Upon conceiving that imperative law, which dwells in the hearts of men, he did not subject this law to any other. He acknowledged this law, as the very God. Emerson[11]

January 29 The Substance of Wisdom

5

Whether the light radiates from within us, or from behind us, which permeates our being--we conceive, all the same, that we are nothing ourselves, and that the light is everything. A man is but the front side of that temple, which is the abode of all the wisdom and all the good. That which we ordinarily call a man--a being, which eats, drinks, sows [sic] and counts, does not present the man to us in his true light, but, on the contrary, shows us the reverse side of his being. Not him do we esteem, but that soul, of which he is an organ. If that soul becomes manifested in great deeds--we worship it. When it is manifested through his mind--it is genius; when it appears through his will--it is virtue; when it finds issue in his feelings--then it is love.

A wise proverb says: 'God comes to us without ringing of bells'--that means that there is no partitions [sic] whatever between ourselves and eternity, there is no walls between man-consequence and God-cause. The walls are adopted--but we still remain open from one side to all the deep influences of the divine manifestations. Emerson[12]

January 30 The Land and the Products of Labor

8

If there can be a man, deprived of any rights to land, then the rights to land are unlawful--my rights, yours, of any man. Emerson[13]

A comparison of Tolstoy's quotations with the original demonstrates that Tolstoy's paraphrasing often does great violence to Emerson's essays. As my footnotes indicate I was (as Maude feared) unable to identify all the quotations, and I am not sure that Tolstoy's January 9 quotation is more than an echo of "Self-Reliance." Help in identifying passages would be appreciated.

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1 North American Review, 172 (April, 1901), 503.
2 Ernest J. Simmons, Leo Tolstoy, Boston, 1946, 394.
3 Loc. cit. 4 Ibid., p. 653.
5 Leo Tolstoy, The Cycle of Reading, N.Y., 1911, 9-10.
6 Aylmer Maude, "Editor's Note," Works of Leo Tolstoy, London, 1928-1937, I, xxv-xxvi.

7 Cycle of Reading, p. 11, paraphrased from "Books," Works (Centenary Ed.), VII, 190.
8 Cycle of Reading, p. 39, perhaps suggested by "Self-Reliance." See Ralph Waldo Emerson, N.Y. (American Writers Series), 1934, p. 89.
9 Cycle of Reading, p. 46: "Self-Reliance," loc. cit., p. 101.
10 Cycle of Reading, pp. 71-72. I am unable to identify this passage.
11 Cycle of Reading, p. 97, paraphrased from the "Divinity School Address." See Ralph Waldo Emerson (AWS), p. 76.
12 Cycle of Reading, pp. 104-105, paraphrased from "The Over-Soul." See Ralph Waldo Emerson, pp. 136-137.
13 Cycle of Reading, p. 109. I am unable to identify this passage.

EMERSON AND THE EDINBURGH REVIEW OF COLERIDGE'S STATESMAN'S MANUAL

By JOHN LASLEY DAMERON

From 1820 to 1830, Emerson was reading materials that were to form the basis of his transcendental philosophy. By July of 1831, his religious thought was largely developed; and although he had up to that time read much by many prominent writers, Coleridge's prose works influenced him a great deal.[1] It is known that Emerson was familiar with the valuable "Appendix" of Coleridge's Statesman's Manual as reprinted in Marsh's 1829 edition of Coleridge's Aids to Reflection; however, not until 1832 did he see a complete edition of the Manual.[2] It is the purpose of this note to point out that before 1832, Emerson had opportunity to become acquainted with the general content of the Manual as quoted from and commented upon by a critic [? William Hazlitt] of the Edinburgh Review.

On April 15, 1831, as records indicate,[3] Emerson withdrew from the Boston Athenaeum volume XXVII (1816) of the Edinburgh Review in which appears a report on the Statesman's Manual,[4] returning this volume on May 3, 1831. This fifteen-page analysis offers both detailed commentaries by the reviewer and passages from the Manual. Coleridge's theological position, his faith in the Bible as a guide for all men, his concern for "reason" as a psychological principle, and his intense interest in the "book" of external nature ——these were matters considered by the reviewer.

Perhaps one or two of his quotations will demonstrate the suggestive reading matter Emerson may have assimilated. First is a statement dealing with Coleridge's distinction between the reason and the understanding:

> If it [the Bible] be the word of Divine Wisdom, we might anticipate, that it would in all things be distinguished from other books, as the Supreme Reason, whose knowledge is creative, and antecedent to the things known, is distinguished from the understanding, or creaturely mind of the individual, the acts of which are posterior to the things it records and arranges. Man alone was created in the image of God: a position groundless and inexplicable, if the reason in man do not differ from the understanding. For this the inferior animals (many at least) possess in degree: and assuredly the divine image or idea is not a thing of degrees....[5]

The second is one of several statements pertaining to Coleridge's concept of Nature:

> ...the book of Nature has been the music of gentle and pious minds in all ages; and that it is the poetry of all human nature to read it likewise in a figurative sense, and to find therein correspondences and symbols of a spiritual nature.[6]

Other quotations can be pointed out that may be of some importance in the final determination of Coleridge's influence upon Emerson.[7] In the spring of 1831, Emerson had opportunity to absorb from the Edinburgh Review the gist of the complete content of the Statesman's Manual—not only before 1832, but also before July, 1831, when his religious thought largely crystallized.

1 See Kenneth W. Cameron, Emerson the Essayist, (2 vols.), Raleigh, 1945, I, 180; and Stephen E. Whicher, Freedom and Fate, Philadelphia, 1953, 15ff.
2 Cameron, Emerson the Essayist, I, 140, n. 311.
3 Cameron, Emerson's Reading, Raleigh, 1941, p. 18.
4 "Coleridge's Lay-Sermon," Edinburgh Review, XXVII (December, 1816), 444-459——hereafter cited as Lay-Sermon.
5 Lay-Sermon, p. 454. 6 Ibid., p. 458.
7 The fact that Emerson gleaned thought from an article in the Quarterly Review about Coleridge is advanced by Cameron in his "Coleridge and the Genesis of Emerson's 'Uriel,'" Philological Quarterly, XXX (April, 1951), 212-217. Undoubtedly, the British periodicals contain a great deal of reading matter that would have enticed Emerson.

RALPH CUDWORTH AND THOREAU'S TRANSLATIONS OF AN ORPHIC HYMN

By the Editor.

In approximately April or June, 1840, Thoreau discovered in Cudworth's The True Intellectual System of the Universe [I shall quote from the 4-vol. London edition of 1820, which Emerson owned] the following Orphic verses produced by Proclus upon the Timaeus of Plato:

> Τοῦνεκα τὴν τῷ παντὶ Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη
> Αἰθερίης εἰρεσίης ἠδ' οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὸν ὕψος,
> Πόντου τ' ἀτειρέος, γαίης τ' ἐριβώλακος εὖρη,
> Ἠπείρου τε μέγας, καὶ ἴσιαι τάρταρα γαίης,
> Καὶ ποταμοὶ, καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος, ἄλλα τε πάντα·
> Πάντ', τ' ἀθάνατοι μακαρες θεοὶ, ἠδὲ θεαῖναι,
> Ὅσσα θ' ἐν γηγάλτα, καὶ ἔπτετο ἵππος ἰμαλλεὶ,
> Ἐγγίνετο· Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν γαστέρι σίζυγα πεφύκει.
>
> [Cudworth, II, 88]

Cudworth gives the following "sense": "Wherefore, together with the universe, were made within Jupiter the height of the ethereal heaven, the breadth of the earth and sea, the great ocean, the profound Tartara, the rivers and fountains, and all the other things, all the immortal gods and goddesses. Whatsoever hath been, or shall be, was at once contained in the womb of Jupiter."

In Morgan MS. MA.594, Thoreau translated the fragment as follows:

Orphic Verses from "Intel—System."
Translated__ 1st Extract.

Wherefore, together with the All, were made within Zeus
The splendid height of the wide ether and of heaven,
The breadth of the sterile sea, and of the glorious earth,
And the great ocean, and Tartara lowest of Earth,
And rivers, and the boundless sea, and all things else;
And all the blessed immortal gods and goddesses,
And whatsoever was, having been born, and afterwards was to be,
All contained together in the womb of Zeus.

Cudworth (II, 89) also provided Thoreau with other Orphic verses which he believed had been produced by Proclus:

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γίνετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραυνος·
Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα· Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·
Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
Ζεὺς πνοιὴ πάντων· Ζεὺς ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς ὁρμή·
Ζεὺς πόντου ῥίζα· Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη·
Ζεὺς βασιλεύς· Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἁπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος·
Ἓν κράτος, εἷς Δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων.

The high thundering Jove is both the first and the last; Jove is both the head and middle of all things; all things were made out of Jupiter; Jove is both a man and an immortal maid; Jove is the profundity of the earth and starry heaven; Jove is the breath of all things; Jove is the force of the untameable fire; Jove the bottom of the sea; Jove is sun, moon, and stars; Jove is both the original and king of all things: there is one power, and one God, and one great ruler over all.—

These Thoreau translated and amended as follows:

Zeus was first, Zeus last——the thunderer;
Zeus ~~is~~ was the head, Zeus the middle; and all things were made from Zeus;
Zeus ~~is~~ was a male, Zeus ~~is~~ was an immortal maid;
Zeus the ~~profundity~~ basis? of the earth and of the starry heaven;
(Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·
Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·)

Σὺ πατὴρ, Σὺ δ' ἐσσὶ μάτηρ,
Συ δ' ἄρρην, Σὺ δὲ θῆλυς,

Tu Pater, Tu es Mater,
Tu Mas, Tu Fœmina.

Zeus ~~is~~ the breath of ~~all things~~ winds, Zeus ~~is~~ the force of ~~the~~ invincible fire;
Zeus the bottom of the sea; Zeus sun and moon;
Zeus king; Zeus himself the generator of all ~~things~~,
One power——one demon is he—great ruler of all.

Cudworth (II, 90) gave the following Orphic passages out of Porphyrius.

Besides these, there are also certain other Orphic verses, scattered up and down in Proclus, but cited altogether in Eusebius out of Porphyrius, in which the whole world is represented as one great animal, God being the soul thereof

Ἐν δὲ δέμας βασίλειον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται,
Πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ γαῖα, καὶ αἰθὴρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἦμαρ·
Καὶ Μῆτις, πρῶτος γενέτωρ, καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπής·
Πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς τάδε σώματι κεῖται·
Τοῦ δήτοι κεφαλὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν, καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα,
Οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, ὃν χρύσεαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι
Ἄστρων μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠρέθονται, &c.

Omnia regali sunt hæc in corpore clausa,
Ignis, et unda, et terra, æther cum nocte dieque;
(Consilium, primus genitor, cum numine amoris:)
Juppiter immenso sub corpore cuncta coërcet:
En hujus caput eximium, vultusque decoros
Undique resplendens cœlum, cui pendula circum
Aurea Cæsaries astrorum lumina fundit:
Sunt oculi Phœbus, Phœboque adversa recurrens
Cynthia, &c.

Thoreau then seems to have taken the hint supplied by Cudworth and sought out Eusebius' Praeparationis Evangelicae, III, 9, for the most complete Greek text available to him:

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραυνος,
Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα. Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.
Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος ἔπλετο νύμφη.
Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.
Ζεὺς βασιλεύς, Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἁπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος.
Ἓν κράτος, εἷς δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων,
Ἓν δὲ δέμας βασίλειον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται,
πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθὴρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἦμαρ,
καὶ Μῆτις, πρῶτος γενέτωρ καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπής·
πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς τάδε σώματι κεῖται.
τοῦ δή τοι κεφαλὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, ὃν χρύσεαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι
ἄστρων μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠρέθονται,
ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα,
ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐρανιώνων,
ὄμματα δ' ἠέλιός τε καὶ ἀντιόωσα σελήνη.
νοῦς δέ οἱ ἀψευδὴς, βασιλήϊος, ἄφθιτος αἰθὴρ,
ᾧ δὴ πάντα κυκλεῖ καὶ φράζεται, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν
αὐδὴ, οὔτ' ἐνοπὴ, οὔτε κτύπος, οὐδὲ μὲν ὅσσα,
ἢ λήθει Διὸς οὖας ὑπερμενέος Κρονίωνος.
ὧδε μὲν ἀθανάτην κεφαλὴν ἔχει ἠδὲ νόημα·
σῶμα δέ οἱ περιφεγγὲς, ἀπείριτον, ἀστυφέλικτον,
ὄβριμον, ὀβριμόγυιον, ὑπερμενὲς ὧδε τέτυκται.
ωμοι μὲν καὶ στέρνα καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θεοῖο
ἀὴρ εὐρυβίης, πτέρυγες δέ οἱ ἐξεφύοντο,
τῇς ἐπὶ πάντα ποτᾶθ', ἱερὴ δέ οἱ ἔπλετο νηδὺς,
γαῖά τε παμμήτειρ' ὀρέων τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα·

μέσση δὲ ζώνη βαρυηχέος οἶδμα θαλάσσης
καὶ πόντου· πυμάτη δὲ βάσις, χθονὸς ἔνδοθι ῥίζαι,
Τάρταρά τ' εὐρώεντα καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα γαίης.
πάντα δ' ἀποκρύψας αὖθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθὲς
μέλλεν ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν πάλι, θέσκελα ῥέζων.

Thoreau's much-erased and now almost indecipherable rough draft of his translation appears in MA.594 on pages 108 and 115. I am not too certain at all points of the text there given in faded pencil but reproduce it here as best I can:

And [the? one?] kingly body, in which all these revolve,
Fire, and water, and earth, and ether, and night, and day
And Intelligence, first creator, and Love causing such delight;
For all these things lie in the great body of Zeus.
And his head to behold and beautiful countenance
The resplendent heaven, around which golden hairs
Of shining stars are beautifully hung,
And on both sides two golden bullocks' horns
The Orient and occident, ways of the heavenly gods.
And eyes the sun and opposite moon.
And his mind the undeceiv[v]ing regal, indestructible ether;
By which he hears and observes all things, nor is there any
Voice nor sight, nor sound, nor rumor,
Which escapes the ears of Zeus, supremely powerful son of Saturn.
So has he an immortal head and mind.
But his body is bright with fire, infinite, unshaken,
Untrembling, strong-limbed, supremely powerful, thus it is made.
The shoulders and breasts, and broad back of the god
The extensive air; and wings sprung from fire
With which he flies over all things, and sacred womb to him was
The earth mother of all things, and the lofty summits of the mountains,
And his middle zone the swelling of the deep sounding sea
And Ocean; And his lowest foot the roots of hid earth within;
And squalid Tartarus and the extreme limits of earth.

Thoreau's final draft is placed among the "Orphic Fragments" in the Literary Notebook now in the Library of Congress, on pages 50-51:

Zeus was first, Zeus last——the thunderer;
Zeus the head, Zeus the middle; and all things were made from Zeus;
Zeus was a male, Zeus was an immortal maid;
Zeus the basis of the earth and of the starry heaven;
Zeus the breath of wind, Zeus the force of invincible fire;
Zeus the bottom of the sea; Zeus sun and moon;
Zeus king; Zeus himself the generator of all,
One power, one demon is he, great ruler of all.
And one kingly body in which all these revolve,
Fire, and water, and earth, and ether, and night, and day.
And Intelligence, progenitor, and Love causing much delight;
For all these things lie in the great body of Zeus.
And his head to behold and beautiful countenance
The resplendent heaven, around which golden hairs
Of shining stars are beautifully hung.
And on both sides two golden bullocks' horns
The Orient and Occident, ways of the heavenly gods.
And eyes the sun and opposite moon.
And his mind the undeceiving, regal, indestructible ether;

By which he hears and observes all things, nor is there any
Voice, nor sight, nor sound, nor rumor,
Which escapes the ears of Zeus, supremely powerful son of Saturn.
So has he an immortal head and mind.
But his body bright with fire, infinite, unshaken,
Untrembling, robust-limbed, supremely powerful, thus it is made.
The shoulders and breasts, and broad back of the god
The extensive air; and wings sprung from him
With which he flies over all; and sacred womb to him was
Earth mother of all, and the lofty summits of mountains,
And his middle zone the swelling of the deep-sounding sea
And Ocean; and his lowest basis the roots of earth within,
And squalid Tartarus and the extreme limits of earth.

In the above translation, Thoreau seems to have received no help from the incomplete text and translation in a volume apparently accessible to him: Ancient Fragments of the Phoenician, Chaldaean, Egyptian, Tyrian, Carthaginian, Indian, Persian, and Other Writers; with an Introductory Dissertation: And an Inquiry into the Philosophy and Trinity of the Ancients. By Isaac Preston Cory. (2nd ed.) London, 1832, pp. 289-290:

FROM ORPHEUS.*

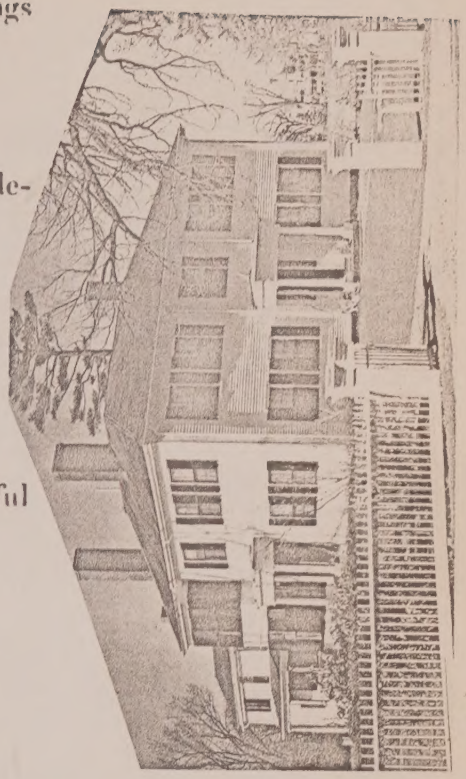
Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο· Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραυνος,
Ζεὺς κεφαλή· Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.
Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο· Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος † ἔπλετο νύμφη·
Ζεὺς πυθμὴν, ‡ γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
(Ζεὺς πνοιὴ πάντων· § Ζεὺς ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς ὁρμή·
Ζεὺς πόντου ῥίζα· Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη·)
Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς· Ζεὺς αὐτὸς || ἁπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος.
Ἓν κράτος, εἷς δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων.
Ἓν δὲ δέμας βασίλειον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κινεῖται,
Πῦρ, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ γαῖα, καὶ αἰθὴρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἦμαρ,
Καὶ Μῆτις πρῶτος γενέτωρ, καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπής.
Πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς τάδε σώματι κεῖται. ¶
Τοῦ δῆτοι κεφαλὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα.
Οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, ὃν χρύσεαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι,
Ἄστρων μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠερέθονται.
Ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα.
Ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐρανιώνων.
Ὄμματα δ' ἠέλιός τε, καὶ ἀντίοωσα* σελήνη,
Νοῦς δέ γε ἀψευδής, βασιλήϊος ἄφθιτος αἰθήρ.

* Eusebius and Proclus omit the fifth and sixth verses between the parentheses. Aristotle places the fourth before the third.
† ἄμβροτος: Aristot. Stob.
‡ λιμὴν Stob.
§ Herm. proposes ἀνεμών.
|| ἀρχὸς Aristot.
¶ Proc. has also Ζηνὸς ἐν εὐρέϊ σώματι κεῖται.

Eus. Pr. Ev. III.—Proc. Tim.—Aristot. de Mund.

* Heringa proposes ἀντιόωσα.

Zeus is the first. Zeus the thunderer, is the last.
Zeus is the head. Zeus is the middle, and by Zeus all things were fabricated.
Zeus is male, Immortal Zeus is female.
Zeus is the foundation of the earth and of the starry heaven.
Zeus is the breath of all things. Zeus is the rushing of indefatigable fire.
Zeus is the root of the sea: He is the sun and moon.
Zeus is the king; He is the author of universal life;
One Power, one Dæmon, the mighty prince of all things:
One kingly frame, in which this universe revolves,
Fire and water, earth and ether, night and day,
And Metis (Counsel) the primeval father, and all-delightful Eros (Love).
All these things are united in the vast body of Zeus.
Would you behold his head and his fair face,
It is the resplendent heaven, round which his golden locks
Of glittering stars are beautifully exalted in the air.
On each side are the two golden taurine horns,
The risings and settings, the tracks of the celestial gods;
His eyes the sun and the opposing moon;
His unfallacious Mind the royal incorruptible Ether.

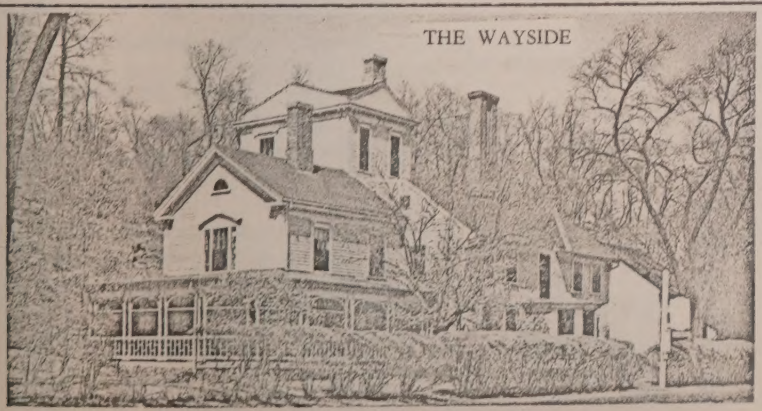


EMERSON HOUSE

AN UNIDENTIFIED FRENCH PASSAGE IN THOREAU'S NOTEBOOK (HM 13201) By the Editor.

The present editor has not been able to decipher a faded penciled section on folio [132] in HM 13201 (Henry E. Huntington Library). Perhaps some of our readers may be able to offer a clue as to its meaning (if original) or source (if transcribed).

Le blè croît pour les hommes. Sa fortune s'accroît; la sienne a rapidement decru. N'en dites rien. Il contredira tout ce que vous disiez. Elle l'aurait prescrit si sa soeur l'eut bien transcrit. Il etait proscrit de toute la bonne société. Pourquoi voulez vous le faire. Il le ...a encore une fois de bonne so[ciété]. Il a ... sa existence....



THE WAYSIDE

HILL BURYING GROUND